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THE MEANING OF THE "DOKANA"

PLUTARCH introduces his discourse "On Brotherly Love" by the following statement:¹ "The ancient models of the images of the Dioscuri the Spartans term 'δόκανα.' Now the *dokana* consists of two parallel beams joined by two others placed across them, and the common and undivided nature of the offering seems appropriately to express the brotherly love of the gods."

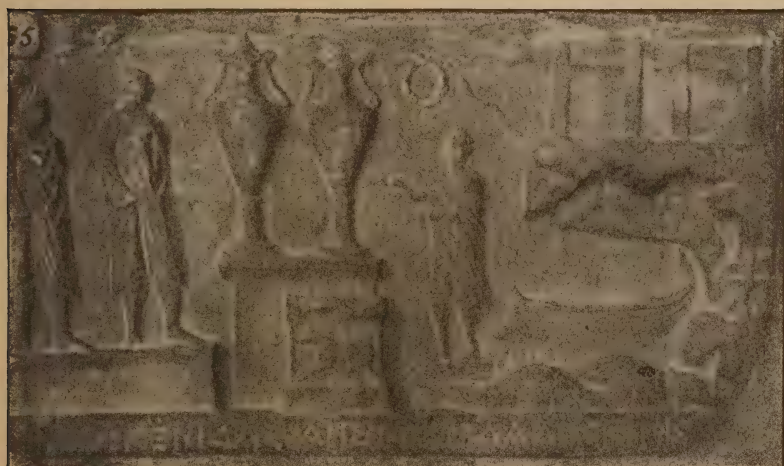


FIGURE 1.—VOTIVE RELIEF OF ARGENIDAS: VERONA.

In the *Etymologicum Magnum*, p. 282, 5² *dokana* are described as "certain tombs in Lacedaemon." The writer derives the term from δέξασθαι, "because they received the sons of Tyndareus," and adds that they looked like open tombs.

This definition not unnaturally led Ernst Curtius³ to conjecture that the *dokana* were the doors of the shrine of the Dioscuri

¹ *De Fraterno Amore*, p. 478 A. τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Διοσκόρων ἀφιδρόματα Σπαρτιάται 'δόκανα' καλοῦσι· ἔστι δὲ δύο ξύλα παράλληλα δυοὶ πλαγίους ἐπέστυγμένα, καὶ δοκεῖ τῷ φιλαδέλφῳ τῶν θεῶν οἰκεῖον εἶναι, τοῦ ἀναθήματος τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον.

² Δόκανα: τάφοι τινὲς ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ· παρὰ τὸ δέξασθαι τοὺς (*libri* τὰς) Τυνδαρίδας, φαντασίαν ἔχοντες (*libri* ἔχούσας; Petersen ἔχοντα) τάφων ἀνεωγμένων.

³ *Peloponnesos*, II, 316.⁴²

which might to ancient thought appear at once as a temple and as a grave.

The hypothesis has met with considerable opposition.¹ Nevertheless, as I shall hope to show, Curtius was quite right in recognizing the importance of the statement in the *Etymologicum* with its hint that the *dokana* might have a chthonic significance.

The *dokana* which Plutarch saw, however, could not have looked like open tombs. The erection must have resembled rather an *h* with a double crossbar, **h**,² a figure which at once reminds one of the zodiacal sign of the Gemini.³

The same symbol, though with a single crossbar, is repeated (H H) on the great votive relief of Argenidas⁴ in Verona (Fig. 1) which Furtwängler⁵ assigns to some Laconian coast-city and dates tentatively in the second century B.C.



FIGURE 2.—RELIEF
IN SPARTA.

Other varieties of the *dokana* agree rather with the description in the *Etymologicum* than with the symbols on the offering of Argenidas. For example a relief of bluish marble in the Sparta Museum (Fig. 2)⁶ shows "two broad parallel vertical beams on each side of which is a snake curling upwards. These are joined at the top by a broad horizontal beam whose rounded ends overhang, and are decorated with a hand-like floral ornament: in its centre is a lotus-bud. At half their height the vertical beams are

¹ Perhaps most forcibly expressed by Bethe in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, s.v. 'Dioskuren,' p. 1089.

² Or possibly **H**, as on the Spartan reliefs.

³ For the various ancient forms of this sign see Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque*, p. 135; Winckelmann, *Geschichte der Kunst des Alterthums* (ed. 1882), p. 19.

⁴ The repetition of the sign may be due merely to symmetry. Perhaps the artist felt that, corresponding to the two amphorae, each brother should have his H-symbol. See W. H. Ward, *Seal-Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 87.

⁵ Roscher, *Lexikon*, s.v. 'Dioskuren,' p. 1170. Tod and Wace, *Catalogue of the Sparta Museum*, pp. 113 ff., fig. 14, give the shape as **H H**. With this Welcker, *Aeschylische Trilogie*, pp. 224 f., n. 389, agrees. Rendel Harris, however, publishes in his *Cult of the Heavenly Twins* a photograph, here reproduced, evidently taken directly from the original as it bears the museum number. The relief is broken at this corner, but it seems fairly clear that the figures had no bar across the top and so Harris interprets them (p. 145).

⁶ Tod and Wace, *op. cit.* p. 193, no. 588.

joined by a narrow horizontal crossbeam. From this spring two parallel and equidistant narrow vertical beams joining the top horizontal beam either side of the lotus."

The ball-players who erected a votive relief to the Dioscuri¹ were familiar with this shape. "A tall amphora with a conical lid stands on a square base between them (the Dioscuri), while above it, and apparently resting on its handles, are the *δόκανα*. These consist of two vertical joined by two horizontal beams in the middle and at the top. The uppermost horizontal beam, which projects beyond the vertical ones, is decorated with an egg between two snakes."

Sometimes the central crossbeam could be omitted. So on terra-cotta votives found at Tarentum² the Dioscuri are represented as standing on either side of a table-like object interpreted by Petersen³ as a development of the *dokana*. I reproduce perhaps the best example (Fig. 3), showing the brethren riding in their chariot past the *dokana* on which stand two amphorae.



FIGURE 3.—TERRA-COTTA RELIEF: TARENTUM.

This shape, more than those previously discussed, resembles an open gate or doorway,⁴ and reminds one not only of the *Etymologicum* but of the *πύλαι καστορίδες* at Gythium,⁵ of the fact that a shrine of the Dioscuri was called *Θαλαμαί*,⁶ "The chambers" (?) (at Thalamae the Dioscuri were

¹ Wace, *B.S.A.* XIII, 1906-7, pp. 213 ff.

² See Petersen, 'Dioskuren in Tarent,' *Röm. Mitt.*, XV, 1900, pp. 7 f., Section A, Abb. I, 2, and II, 3, with which compare the table with altar before it and amphorae upon it in the Argenidas relief.

³ *Op. cit.* pp. 42 ff.

⁴ Professor Frothingham calls my attention to the resemblance between the *dokana* and the city-gate, comparing an urn from Volterra with the scene of the Attack on Thebes (Alinari, photo. 8734). "Here note the uprights and crossbar of the city door inside the arched gate—and, above, one of the Dioscuri heads. . . ."

⁵ Pausanias, III, 21, 9.

⁶ Cf. Photius: *Θαλάμαι· αἱ καταδύσεις· Θαλαμαί (θαλάμαι ?) δὲ τόπος ἱερὸς τῶν Διοσκούρων.*

born),¹ and that according to tradition the twins had possessed a "house" in Sparta.²

The gateway form suggests many parallels, best collected by A. B. Cook in his interesting discussion of the *dokana* in connection with Etruscan mirrors³. A sacred tree is often provided with a door-shaped shrine consisting of pillars placed on either side of the trunk and connected by an arch or epistyle.⁴

Cretan art affords many examples⁵ of shrines both of the Π variety (Fig. 4) and of a type resembling the $\bar{\Pi}$ form of the *dokana*. They protect trees, pillars or other sacred objects, such as the "horns of consecration."

Further analogies may be drawn on the one hand from megalithic trilithons, on the other from the first gate of the temple at Jerusalem described in the *Wars of the Jews* as having no doors, "for it symbolized the heavens, every way open and everywhere visible."⁶ One may compare also the gate-ways of the Indian *topes* or relic-shrines, for instance the north gateway of



FIGURE 4.—CRETAN RING WITH SHRINE.

the *tope* at Sânci which is largely devoted to tree-worship.⁷

¹ Paus., III, 1, 4; 26, 2.

² Paus., III, 16, 2.

³ Zeus, *A Study in Ancient Religion*, p. 767¹.

⁴ Bötticher, *Baumkultus der Hellenen*, p. 155.

⁵ Evans, *Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult* (=J.H.S. XXI, 1901, pp. 99 ff.), figs. 53, 55, 56, 58. Cf. Evans, p. 83 (=181): "To this day the traveller in the Caucasus may see outside the Ossete houses a rude arch or gateway placed beside the stump which represents the ancestral tree of the household."

⁶ Josephus, *Wars of the Jews* V, 5, 4, translated in Fergusson, *The Temples of the Jews*, p. 151. The Talmud, *Middoth of the Mishna*, 3, 7 and 8, explains the structure of the gate: "The Gates of the propylon were forty cubits in height and twenty cubits broad, and above these were five richly carved beams of ash or oak. . . . Between each beam there was a row or course of stones. Transverse beams of cedar were carried from the wall of the Temple to this portico or propylon to support it. . . . A golden vine was spread over this gateway of the Temple, and was carried upon the supporting beams." (Translation in Fergusson, *op. cit.* pp. 151 and 152.)

⁷ Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, I, pl. 38.

Similar gate-ways are found in Korea, China, and Japan. As Fergusson explains,¹ although in India they have lost their original sepulchral meaning, in China they are still used as honorific monuments for the dead.

Suggestive of the H-type of *dokana* are the representations on Cyprian coins of the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos (Fig. 5).² Here the central portion of the edifice has the H-shape.³

Still simpler than the *dokana* as a symbolical gateway would be the erection of two pillars without the crossbar.⁴ In *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins, Phoenicia*, pl. XXXIII, 15, are represented the "Ambrosial Rocks" with the sacred olive-tree of the Tyrian Melkart between them. In front of the altar of Zeus Lycaeus, Pausanias saw two pillars upon which were gilded eagles.⁵ A pair of pillars wreathed with serpents enclose the busts of Tanit and Ba'al-hammân on a silver diadem from Batna in Algeria.⁶ Two large brick columns stood on either side of the gateway into the court outside the temple area of Nippur.⁷ In this connection, too, one recalls the pillars Jachin and Boaz set up by Solomon in the porch of the



FIGURE 5.—COIN OF CYPRUS.

¹ *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, II, p. 476.

² Daremberg et Saglio, *s.v.* 'Aphrodite,' fig. 361. A simpler type appears on a bronze coin of Vespasian, *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins, Cyprus*, pl. XV, 4. The coin is thus described: "Temple of Aphrodite at Paphos; garland hanging above the two crossbeams; at sides, slender columns (candelabra); in front semicircular court enclosed by lattice fence; the cone has a double flat top and a star on each side."

³ Mr. A. B. Cook very courteously permits me to refer to his unpublished theory that such gateways or arches as the *dokana* seem to represent "at first denoted the sky itself resting on its side-supports." The *dokana* "are seen to be simply the 'beams' of the world—its pillars and ceiling." Such an hypothesis would explain shape II, but not shape H where the side posts are higher than the central bar.

⁴ When the sacred pillars had become deified, the actual gateway shape, H, may have seemed more appropriate than this simpler form as the symbol of the Dioscuri, because, as Plutarch points out, the crossbeam would emphasize the close connection between the twins. See Usener in *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 319.

⁵ Paus., VIII, 38, 7.

⁶ Cook, *Zeus*, pl. XXVI.

⁷ Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 624.

temple,¹ the pairs of obelisks in front of the colossi at the entrance of Egyptian temples, and the limestone obelisks placed with apotropaic purpose to right and left of the stelae at the entrance of Egyptian tombs as early as the end of the Third Dynasty.² The shrine of Aphrodite at Paphos contained free-standing columns in the side-wings. Of similar construction was the dove-shrine represented on a gold plaque from Mycenae.³ A sardonyx in Berlin shows two pillars, each surmounted by a globe with a star above it. Between them is a tripod with a crescent over it, and on each pillar hang a sword and lance.⁴ At Edessa twin pillars represented the assessors of Helios.⁵ Finally one may mention the pillars set up by Tiberius at Antioch before the temple of Dionysus in honor of the twins Zethus and Amphiion.⁶

Sometimes sacred posts are connected, though not by an actual crossbeam, in such a way as to suggest the *dokana*. On bronze Oscan coins of Capua stand two sacred stones with a fillet above.⁷ The coins of Magnesia on the Maeander show two conical stones wound with snakes which incline toward one another in the space between and hold a garland.⁸ Here also belong various gems, such as the chalcedony scaraboid figured by Furtwängler⁹ showing two pillars connected by a loosely hanging garland.

If the interpretation of the *dokana* implied in the foregoing paragraphs is correct, the Dioscuri at an early stage of their

¹ I *Kings*, VII, 21.

² Maspero, *Manual of Egyptian Archaeology* (1914), pp. 121 f. Of the tomb-obelisks Maspero says: (They) "were regarded as possessing magic powers that enabled them to protect the building before which they were placed from all evil. . . ."

³ Cf. also on Carthaginian stelae the obelisk flanked by two smaller pillars, sacred to Tanit. Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, fig. 22.

⁴ Furtwängler, *Die antiken Gemmen*, pl. XXIX, 44. In all these examples, beside the thought of a symbolical gateway, considerations of symmetry were doubtless influential.

⁵ According to Harris, *Boanerges*, ch. 24 and *Dioscuri in Christian Legends*, ch. 2. Cf. the twin phalli said to have been erected by Dionysus in the vestibule of the temple at Hierapolis, Lucian, *De dea Syria*, 16 and 28.

⁶ John Malalas (*Corpus Scrip. Hist. Byz.*, Vol. XIV, Bonn, 1831) Bk. 10, V, 99 B.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins, Italy*, p. 83, no. 15.

⁸ Usener, *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 319; Imhoof-Blumer, *Choix de monnaies grecques*, pl. IV, no. 123.

⁹ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gem.*, I, pl. XIII, 29; cf. *Id. Beschreibung der geschnittenen Steinen im Antiquarium*, Nos. 6464, pl. 45, and 305, pl. 6.



FIGURE 6.—DIOSCURI JOINED BY ONE BAR.



FIGURE 7.—DIOSCURI JOINED BY TWO BARS.

complicated development were the uprights of a sacred door or gateway. This hypothesis receives confirmation from a series of Etruscan mirrors on which the Dioscuri appear in human form, but so connected by crossbars as to represent each of the three main types of the *dokana*, $\overline{\text{H}}$, Π , and H . Out of a great number of examples, I reproduce one of each class (Figs. 6, 7, and 8). Fig. 8 is particularly interesting, as it presents the twins leaning upon the sacred posts from which they were developed.

That the Dioscuri were parallel posts, guardians of some shrine, sacred tree, or pillar, explains their subordinate character,—the fact that they are often merely assessors to a more important deity or deities.



FIGURE 8.—DIOSCURI WITH HEADS JOINED BY BAR.

It explains too their frequent use at the entrances of temples¹ and at city gates.

The nature of the central deity to whom the twin gods² were assessors can also be determined. Several mirrors present evidence of the cult of a sacred plant in connection with the Dioscuri. In Gerhard's *Etruskische Spiegel*, pl. 48, 4 and 5, the brothers stand in their usual stiff position, forming supporters for the central feature, a highly simplified and conventionalized plant. Between the twins of pl. 46, 8 rises a curious palm-like stalk on top of which perches a small bird. A pediment with a star in the middle connects the heads of the twins and below this are two larger stars. On pl. 47, 1, the Dioscuri lean against their ancient pillars, with their shields behind them. Between the pillars grows a low plant naturalistically rendered by the artist. Above are two parallel *dokana*-beams and the space between them is decorated with a pattern perhaps derived from the sacred plant.

In connection with this evidence, mention should be made of late coins from Gythium showing a tree between the Dioscuri,³ of the plane-tree in Sparta consecrated to Helen by the inscription: σέβου μ'· Ἑλένας φυτὸν εἰμὶ⁴, and of Helen Dendritis, worshipped in Rhodes.⁵

Intermediate between a sacred tree and a sacred pillar is the lotus-column which rises between its assessors on pl. 46, 9. On pl. 46, 4 a pillar supports the table-like crossbeams of the *dokana*. The thighs of the Dioscuri are joined by the crossbeams in pl. 253A, no. 3. Upon the beams rests a banded column and upon that again a pediment.⁶

Various coins offer comparisons. On a coin issued at Sagalassus in Caracalla's reign,⁷ the two circular altars of the Dioscuri,

¹ Pliny, *N. H.*, XXXIV, 79; Suetonius *Caligula*, 22; Dio Cassius, LIX, 28, and compare the twins Tammuz and Gishzida who keep the gates of the Babylonian heaven, Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 546 ff. The Dioscuri were found in front of the temple in the forum of Assisi. As guardians of gateways, they appeared on the jambs of the city gate at Thessalonica; they flank Jupiter over the Porta Marzia at Perugia, Frothingham, *Roman Cities in Italy and Dalmatia*, pp. 137, 182.

² Not necessarily the Dioscuri, but of similar character.

³ *J.H.S.* VII, 1886, p. 66 (Geta).

⁴ Theocritus, XVIII, 48.

⁵ Paus., III, 19, 10.

⁶ Cf. also pl. 253A, no. 2.

⁷ *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins, Lycia, Pamphylia and Pisidia*, p. 243, no. 20 and cf. nos. 23 and 24.

each adorned with a crescent and surmounted by a star, stand under an arch supported by columns. Between them rises a tall Corinthian column on a base.

It is not a far cry from this tree-pillar to the pillar-like goddess who often appears between twin supporters.¹ So on a gable-topped stele in the museum at Sparta² a female figure clad in a long, stiff chiton stands facing the spectator. "On her head she wears a kind of basket, broader at the top than the bottom, and decorated with horizontal lines." In each hand she holds a fillet wreath. Flanking her stand the Dioscuri in profile, each wearing pileus and chlamys. Coins of Acalissus³ figure a like idol, veiled, with a crescent on her head, standing between the Dioscuri who are armed with spears and accompanied by their horses. In another instance⁴ a crescent alone appears between the twins whose pilei are surmounted by stars.

The goddess between the twin supporters is a lady of many names. Worshipped at Sparta as Helen, adored under the name of Cybele at Pergamum, Pessinus, Metroon in Bithynia, Tomi, and Callatis,⁵ she appears at Tripolis in Phoenicia and elsewhere as Astarte, "queen of the heavens."⁶ Twins also escort Hera Urania seated on her lion.⁷ Here perhaps belongs the curious passage in Apuleius's description of the mime representing the Judgment of Paris where the Dioscuri are the companions of Juno.⁸

But twins were also, as Harris has proved,⁹ universally regarded as Sons of Thunder, and they became therefore naturally

¹ Most of the examples are given by Petersen, 'Dioskuren auf Monte Cavallo,' *Röm. Mitt.* XV, 1900, pp. 337 f.

² Tod and Wace, *Catalogue*, no. 201, and cf. 202 and 203.

³ *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins, Lycia*, etc., p. 40, 1 (Gordian III); cf. p. 211 for similar coins of Codrula (Caracalla). For Termessus Major, cf. p. 270, no. 24 (Antonines).

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 234, 1, a coin of Pednelissus (Antoninus Pius).

⁵ Graillet, 'Les dieux tout-puissants Cybèle et Attis,' *R. Arch.* 1904, 1, pp. 345 ff.

⁶ *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins, Phoenicia*, 213, 215, 218 f. The twins and Astarte are found also in Orthosia (Caria), Berytus, Tyre, Laodicea (Phrygia), Aelia Capitolina (Judaea), and Philadelphia. See Lajard, *Recherches sur le culte de Mithra*, pp. 627 ff. Of course there were other reasons for the association of the Dioscuri and similar twins with deities like Astarte. I argue only that one reason for such a combination may be found in my interpretation of the *dokana*.

⁷ Furtwängler, *Ant. Gemmen*, pl. LXV, no. 54, and vol. II, p. 303; Graillet, *l.c.*, p. 347.

⁸ Apuleius, *Metam.* X, 31.

⁹ *Boanerges*, *passim*.

assessors of thundering Jove. They guarded the entrance of the temple of Jupiter Tonans at Rome¹; on a paste of late Roman work² they flank the figure of Zeus who leans against the pillar which in more primitive days had itself received worship; they are found with Zeus Sabazius in Phrygia,³ with Ba'al-samin, Lord of Heaven, at Setif in Africa⁴; their caps represent them beside the figure of Zeus Adad.⁵

That the connection between the goddess and her twin guardians and the god with his assessors was not remote we may infer from coins representing an androgynous Zeus apparently worshipped in Caria.⁶ His emblem, the double axe, carries us back again to Crete and reminds us that⁷ "on the reverse of the coins of Tenedos, as on so many Carian types, the old double axe form of the divinity is still preserved, while on the obverse appears its anthropomorphic equivalent in the shape of a janiform head, which has been identified with Dionysus and Ariadne."⁸ On some of these coins the pilei of the Dioscuri appear with the axe.⁹

Here I think I can add another to Harris's series of reasons for associating the twins with the thunder-god. I have tried to adduce evidence that such a symbol as the *dokana* proves the Dioscuri and similar pairs to have been the posts of a sacred doorway. Now

¹ *R. Num.*, 1838, p. 13.

² Cook, *Zeus*, p. 35⁶, fig. 8.

³ *Zeus*, pl. XXVII.

⁴ *C.I.L.* VIII, 8443, 8444, 8451, 8453; Graillet, *l.c.* p. 347. On coins of Tarsus the Dioscuri or similar figures support a canopy covering the pyre of Sandan, *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins, Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia*, p. 221, no. 293. Cf. Milani, *Studi e Materiali*, II, p. 56, fig. 213a and b; I, p. 48, figs. 16, 17. The arch here doubtless represents the vault of heaven (so Milani, p. 49, and cf. Cook's theory, p. 5, note 2.)

⁵ Cook, *Zeus*, fig. 451.

⁶ Cf. Foucart, *Des associations religieuses chez les Grecs*, p. 106 f. on a coin of Mylasa of the time of Geta, representing Zeus Labraundos in a tetrastyle temple: "Il est barbu et coiffé du modius; son corps se termine par une gaine couverte de bandelettes, au-dessus desquelles on voit deux mamelles; de ses bras descendent des chaînes qui paraissent scellées dans le sol; comme d'ordinaire, la main droite tient une bipenne, et la gauche une haste."

⁷ Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 10.

⁸ In the Orphic Hymn, frg. 238, 5, Zeus is called *μητροπάτωρ*. On a vase from Vulci (*Mon. dell' Inst.* VIII, p. 24) he bears an androgynous sceptre. See Usener, *Strena Helbigiana*, p. 329; *Num. Chron.*, 1887, pl. II, no. 25.

⁹ *Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins, Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos*, p. 93, nos. 25, 26, 29; and Imhoof-Blumer, *Monn. gr.*, p. 269, nos. 206 and 203.

the thunder-stone, celt, or double axe, being very important as a charm against lightning, is often placed at the door of a dwelling. So Blinkenberg¹ tells us that in Snedsted parish, Denmark, thunder-stones are still placed in stable-windows and over stable-doors. While in East Prussia they are hurled against the door to keep off thunder, in Poland they are laid under the threshold and in Scotland over the door for good luck.² The Slavs call stone axes sky-arrows,³ and in this connection it is interesting to note that on one side of a bone arrow-head from Vimose the swastika and the figure H are carved.⁴ That the axe-symbol was used in very ancient days in association with the door, the great prehistoric palace at Cnossus proves. Evans says of it⁵: "It was itself the 'House of the Double Axe,' and the Palace was at the same time a sanctuary. The chief corner-stones and door-jambs, made of huge gypsum blocks, are incised with the double axe sign, implying consecration to the Cretan Zeus." One of the Etruscan mirrors (Fig. 9) illustrates the worship of the thunderbolt with the twins as its assessors. The interpretation of this mirror I owe to Cook.⁶



FIGURE 9.—DIOSCURI AND THUNDERBOLT.

Perhaps a trace of the ancient belief in the effectiveness of twins as guardians of dwellings is evinced in the selection at Athens of a common priest for the *Anakes* and the hero *Epitegios* ("protector of the house-roof"?).⁷

But if the structure of the *dokana* was derived from a sacred gateway, why to the writer of the definition in the *Etymologicum*

¹ *The Thunder-Weapon in Religion and Folklore*, p. 74.

² Blinkenberg, pp. 96 ff.

³ Blinkenberg, p. 100.

⁴ Blinkenberg, p. 85.

⁵ *Tree and Pillar Cult*, p. 12.

⁶ *Zeus*, p. 770.

⁷ *C.I.A.*, III, 290; cf. 195, and Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. 'Epitegios.'

had it a chthonic significance, so that it suggested open tombs?¹

The tomb of Adonis at Byblos, of Aphrodite at Paphos, of Zeus in Crete, the omphalos at Delphi, which became the tomb of Dionysus, are all proofs of the transition in popular belief by which the aniconic image of a god became his burial-place.²

An image shaped like a gateway, however, was particularly likely to be connected with the underworld. We have already seen the use of the gate in China as an honorific monument to the dead. In ancient fancy, the doorway of the house was the boundary between the safe, firelit world of home and the vague "Outside" where spirits lurked.³

The Greeks, believing that "white thorn or buckthorn fastened to a door had power . . . to exclude spirits,"⁴ hung branches before the doors when the dead received sacrifice. Pythagoras recommended the hanging of sea-leeks over the door *contra malorum medicamentorum introitum*.⁵ To exclude *striges* threshold and doorposts must be struck three times with arbute-branches and the entrance sprinkled with water.⁶

¹ The use of the plural *τάφοι* is noteworthy. Unless we suppose that the duplication Η Η which occurs on the relief of Argenidas was common in Laconia, an idea contradicted by the other reliefs on which the *dokana* appears, I think we must assume the definition to describe not any one particular structure, for instance near Therapne as Bethe suggests (Pauly-Wissowa s.v. 'Dioskuren,' §9), but symbols commonly to be seen in Lacedaemon, ἀφιδούματα of an original, as Plutarch tells us. In favor of the duplication might perhaps be cited the passage (V. 75) in which Herodotus remarks that one of the Tyndarids and one king must be left behind when the army marches forth from Sparta. It is of course possible as Dr. Paton suggests to me, that the "tomb" or underground dwelling of the Dioscuri at Therapne may have had the form of the *dokana*. As, however, the evidence I have previously given has, I hope, shown that the origins of the *dokana* must be sought in the sacred door or gateway whose sideposts are the Dioscuri themselves, we must, if Dr. Paton's conjecture be correct, carry our question one step further back, and ask: "Why at Therapne had this sacred door or gateway a chthonic significance so that it could be described as the tomb of the Dioscuri?"

² Evans, *Tree and Pillar Cult*, pp. 21 ff.

³ See M. B. Ogle, 'House-Door in Greek and Roman Religion and Folk-Lore,' *A.J. Ph.* XXXII, 1911, pp. 251 ff. Cf. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, XI, pp. 175 f. In Borneo after a funeral, the mourners creep through a "gate" made of a V-shaped stick to rid themselves of the ghost. Meanwhile they say a few words to a cross which has been erected near the "gate." This cross they call "the wall which separates the living from the dead."

⁴ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, II, p. 191.

⁵ Pliny, *N. H.*, XX, 101; cf. XXX, 82, and see Ogle, *op. cit.*, for many additional references.

⁶ Ovid, *Fasti*, VI, 155 ff.

In Jerusalem evil spirits haunt "the threshold of the house, and indeed all doorways and entrances."¹ According to German belief, a door must not be slammed, "*denn das würde dem Geiste, der dazw. sitzt wehe tun.*"² In the Asturias it is not right to slam doors or windows for fear of disturbing some soul doing penance which might tarry there. Care too must be taken in throwing water from the door, for fear of drenching the spirits hovering near by. In upper Franconia one must not step on the threshold of a new house, because the act hurts the "poor souls" beneath. To cure fever in the Upper Palatinate, a magician lifted the threshold and banished the spirit hiding under it.³

Often it is considered unlucky to step on a threshold.⁴ "He who strikes his foot against the threshold should turn back" says the Pythagorean precept.⁵ So the Roman bride was lifted over the threshold of her new dwelling and required to smear the doorposts with oil and fat and bind them with woolen fillets.⁶ At Erdély in Hungary the mother spits upon the newborn child to protect it when she carries it across the threshold.

In fact the door or gate is a dangerous spot. Among certain African tribes,⁷ "to stand upright in the doorway or inside is unlucky, and will bring cattle thieves." At the other end of the world, in Worcestershire, "to say goodbye at a gate foretells that you will be parted from your friend. To go back over your doorstep for anything forgotten is unlucky; you should sit down to break the spell."⁸

¹ A. Goodrich-Freer, 'Powers of Evil in Jerusalem,' *Folklore*, XVIII, 1907, p. 58.

² Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod*, p. 141. The following references are also taken from Samter, *l.c.*

³ Many classical cures are connected with the threshold. To cure *porrigo*, e.g., the patient is to stand on the threshold to take his medicine, '*idque triduo faciat*,' Marcellus Empiricus, IV, 27. Cf. Ps. Apul. *de medic. herb.* 7, where, as Ogle remarks, the presence of spirits at the threshold is indicated by the warning "Look not behind you."

⁴ H. C. Trumbull, *The Threshold Covenant*, pp. 10 ff., contains numerous examples.

⁵ *Frg. Gr. Phil.* (Mullach) I, p. 510.

⁶ The Hindoo bride must step across, not *on*, the threshold. The custom, as Trumbull shows (*Covenant*, pp. 37 ff.), is widespread.

⁷ Review of M. W. H. Beech, *The Suk: Their Language and Folklore*, in *Folklore*, XXIII, 1912, p. 401.

⁸ S. O. Addy, 'Scraps of English Folklore, III (Worcestershire),' *Folklore*, XX, 1909, p. 346.

Often the perilous boundary must be avoided at any cost. Diarmuid O'Duibhne was forbidden to pass through a wicket-gate and leaped over rather than break his *geasa*.¹ An interesting parallel is the tale of the Marquesan chief who with all his family "scorned to pass a gateway which is ever closed, or a house with a door. . . . Often have I seen him walk the whole length of our barrier, in preference to passing between our watercasks; and at the risk of his life scramble over the loose stones of a wall, rather than go through the gateway."²

Sometimes men try by a clever deception to avoid the undesired presence of the dead about the door. One such invention was the "corpse-door," a special opening made through the wall, just large enough to admit the passage of a coffin. As soon as the procession had started for church, this opening was bricked up to prevent the spirit of the dead from finding its way back to the house.³ This curious custom is widespread. It was practiced by the Ojibway Indians; it appears in Swabia, Iceland, Greenland, Denmark, Italy, among the Slavs in Russia, among the Siamese, East Indians, Chinese, Hottentots, and Caribees.

On the other hand, a man falsely declared to have died in a foreign land, says Plutarch,⁴ must not on his return home enter through the door, but through the roof.

The thunder-stone, or the axe which represented it, was not only a charm against lightning but a protection against invading ghosts. In Masuria in East Prussia, at the boundary of a peasant's dwelling toward the street, two axes were laid cross-wise and over these the corpse must be carried. Elsewhere in Masuria an axe was laid for a similar purpose on the threshold. In China men beat on the ground with a hammer to drive away spirits.⁵ Trolls and nightmare are avoided by the use of the thunder-stone.⁶ One recalls also the three guardians who protected mother and newborn child from Silvanus by patrolling

¹ E. Hull, 'Old Irish Tabus,' *Folklore*, XII, 1901, p. 61.

² D. Porter, *Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean*, II, 65, quoted by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, III, 254 f.

³ H. F. Feilberg, 'The Corpse-Door: A Danish Survival,' *Folklore*, XVIII, 1907, pp. 364 ff.; see *Threshold Covenant*, pp. 23 ff.

⁴ *Quaestiones Romanae*, 5. In primitive Scandinavia the inmates of the house of an enemy must be attacked through the roof, not through the door, *Threshold Covenant*, p. 7.

⁵ Samter, *op. cit.* p. 45.

⁶ Blinkenberg, *op. cit.* p. 122.

the house at night, beating on the threshold with axe and pestle and sweeping it with a broom.¹

If then a gate or doorway was regarded as actually the abiding-place of the spirits of the dead, the sacred symbols representing such an entrance might naturally be associated with the underworld.²

In conclusion I should like, in view of my hypothesis concerning the *dokana*, to discuss a few possible parallels.

Horatius, in expiation of the murder of his sister, was led beneath the *tigillum sororium*. The analogy between this structure and the *dokana* has been already noted.³ Most writers describe it as a single beam supported on either side by the street walls,⁴ although Festus (p. 297) speaks of its construction as *duo tigilla tertio superiecto*. At any rate it served the purpose of a gateway, for beneath it Horatius was driven as a symbolical offering to the shades below.⁵

I may quote a parallel from the Middle Ages, probably referring to an ordeal. "The suspected person was to swallow a mouthful of consecrated bread. If he could not do so, he was to be *dragged out alive under the doorstep* and then put to death."⁶

¹ Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, 6, 9.

² Perhaps a modern representative of the *dokana* exists in the lich-gate of an English churchyard, through which the corpse must be carried. I owe this suggestion to Professor Neilson of Mt. Holyoke College.

³ Cook, *Zeus*, p. 767¹.

⁴ Livy, I, 26; Dion. Hal. III, 22; Schol. Bob. ad Cic. pro Milone, 3, p. 277, Orelli.

⁵ According to Fowler, *Cl. R.* 1913, pp. 48-51, and Frazer, *Golden Bough*, XI, pp. 193 ff., the object of the ceremony was to cleanse Horatius of guilt and to enable him to escape the ghost of his sister, just as in their view the passage of a conquered enemy beneath the *iugum* was intended "to rid the foe of some uncanny powers," or meant as a kindness, to enable him to escape the angry ghosts of slaughtered Romans. Is it not much more probable that the ceremony represents a symbolical death or deliverance to the world of ghosts, whereas in older, more cruel days an actual execution was the only fate of captive or murderer? Compare the *devotio*, involving the burial of an image of the devoted person in case he did not fall in battle. As to the triumphal arch, I should agree with Frazer and Fowler that the passage beneath it was intended to rid conquering troops of the ghosts of foemen. In that case the arch faces the other way, as it were, to the world of the living, from the world of the dead. The *porta triumphalis* at Rome is, moreover, apparently the only instance in point, as most so-called "triumphal arches" were not erected as part of a triumph. Cf. Curtis, 'Roman Monumental Arches,' *Supplementary Papers of the American School in Rome*, II, p. 29.

⁶ Feilberg, *l.c.* p. 373.

Beneath the *tigillum* were erected the altars of *Janus Curiatius* and *Juno Sororia*. So at many a gate was to be seen the image of Janus set up between the posts. We have noted the double "thunder-axe" in the same position and at times in its place a double-headed, double-sexed image. Have we not here the explanation of the two heads of Janus?¹

Under the *tigillum*, however, in lieu of the two-headed god appeared his altar with that of his other (perhaps not better (!)) half, his "sister" Juno.² Cook³ connects the *tigillum*, provided with its two side-posts and its horizontal bar, with the triple-headed Janus.⁴ More natural would be the derivation of such a triple deity from the original thunder-god and his twin supporters, raised at last to virtual equality with the greater divinity. Compare Cautes and Cautopates, the twin torch-bearers of Mithras, whose names are also found as mere epithets of the greater god worshipped as Mithras *triplasios*.⁵

¹ Since completing this paper, I note that Milani, *Studi e Materiali di Archeologia e Numismatica*, I, pt. 2, pp. 197 ff. has also conjectured the derivation of Janus from the double axe.

² The fact that the double axe, though originally regarded as androgynous, had come to be considered especially the symbol of the thunder-god would lead to the duplication of the male element. Perhaps we may see a similar emphasis on the female half of the combination in the double female heads on coins of Rhegium (*Brit. Mus. Catal. of Coins, Italy*, pp. 381 f., Nos. 89-94). For other examples cf. Lampsacus (*ibid. Mysia*, pp. 79 f., nos. 10-22; pl. XVIII, nos. 9-12; pp. 82 f., nos. 32-45, 50-2; pl. XIX, nos. 10, 13) and Athens (*ibid. Attica*, p. 5). See also the *as* of Thessalonica (*ibid. Macedonia*, p. 112, *Thessalonica*, no. 32) after 88 B.C., on the obverse of which appears the head of Janus, while the reverse is occupied by the Dioscuri on horseback. In connection with Juno Sororia, the association of the Dioscuri with Juturna, wife of Janus, should not be forgotten, Arnobius, *adv. nat.* III, 29. The gate-shrine once established for the axe-god who was also the sky- or thunder-god, may have been specially perpetuated because some of its forms suggested the arch of heaven.

³ *Cl. R.* 1904, p. 369.

⁴ Represented e.g. on a "middle brass of Hadrian." Cook, *l.c.*

⁵ Cumont, *Textes et Monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, p. 208. Cf. the visit of the three angels to Abraham (*Genesis* 18), a story which Harris has shown to be full of "Dioscuric" features. One wonders in fact whether the triplets of the *tigillum*-story may not originally have been twins. An interesting feature of the legend concerns the close relationship of the contending parties. Dionysius, III, 13 and Zonaras, VII, 6, report that the mothers of the triplets were twin sisters. Columella's account, III, 8, 1 (*eximiae fecunditatis Albanas Curiatiae familiae trigeminorum matres*) would imply a tradition deriving both families from Alba.

To Harris's investigations we owe the proof of the interest of the Heavenly Twins in ploughs and yokes.¹ Even without the tale of the *Tigillum* we should suspect a relation between the *dokana* and the *iugum* beneath which conquered troops passed.²

Not only at gates and doors but at crossroads men feared the spirits of the dead. In Greece an offering for the soul was made at crossroads³; in Germany, when the funeral arrived at a crossroad, a heap of straw was laid down that the dead when he returned might rest there.⁴ In German East Africa "lost spirits" receive sacrifice at crossroads⁵; elsewhere in Africa twins are buried at crossroads, "like . . . a man struck by lightning."⁶ To deceive the dead the implements which he used are broken at the crossroads to hinder his return. In the Middle Ages, one called upon the devil at crossroads, and evil spirits were there most likely to be met.⁷ Can we find at crossroads any structure analogous to the *dokana*?

Since in this paper I prefer to avoid the vexed question of a possible connection between the Dioscuri and the Lares, to which at some time I hope to devote a separate discussion, I should like merely to make, without drawing inferences, the following statements:

I. The *Tigillum Sororium* was placed over or near a crossroad, for the calendar of the Arval Brothers describes it as *ad compitum Acili*.

II. Diana, worshipped at crossroads, is, like Juno and Juturna, a feminine counterpart of Janus.⁸

III. The *compita* or shrines of the *Lares Compitales* at crossroads, are said by the scholiast on Persius (4, 28) to resemble towers, *pertusa, quia per omnes quattuor partes pateant*. Here, he explains, farmers place broken plough-yokes.

IV. The *Lares Compitales* were twins and were assessors of the Genius of the Emperor.

¹ *Boanerges*, ch. XXIII and p. 341. To the legends of warriors armed for battle with ploughshares or yokes, add an Etruscan relief on an urn in the Museum at Volterra, Dennis, *Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria* (Everyman Edition), II, p. 155.

² See p. 15.⁵

³ Samter, *op. cit.* p. 145; cf. Schol ad Aeschyl. Choeph. 97.

⁴ Samter, p. 145.

⁵ Samter, p. 146.

⁶ *Boanerges*, p. 97.

⁷ Maury, *La Magie et l'Astrologie dans l'Antiq. et au Moyen Âge*, p. 177.²

⁸ Cf. Cook's equation, *Cl. R.* 1904, p. 368.

V. To propitiate Tacita, mother of the Lares, an old woman places with three fingers three dabs of incense beneath the threshold.¹

I have tried to connect the sanctity of the *dokana* with the sanctity of the gateway and to show how, like the posts of the gateway, the Dioscuri or human side-posts may have stood as guardians between two worlds,—protectors of the living, companions also of the dead.

Innumerable links connect this symbol of the Heavenly Twins with other features of their worship. To such features I have been able only briefly to refer. The main interest of the *dokana* lies in the glimpse the symbol gives us of a very primitive stage in human thinking.

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¹ Ovid, *Fasti*, II, 573.

THE DIPHILOS-DROMIPPOS LECYTHI, AND THEIR
RELATION TO MR. BEAZLEY'S "ACHILLES
MASTER."

IN 1916, the University Museum in Philadelphia acquired a very important Attic white lecythus, Inv. no., MS. 5463 (Fig. 1) bearing the inscription $\Delta\Phi\Lambda\Theta\Xi$
ΚΑΛΟC . It is this vase that is the subject of this paper, as it seems to me to be a "missing link" that binds the Diphilos group to the other white lecythi correctly assigned by Mr. J. D. Beazley to his "Achilles Master."¹

This vase, before coming to Philadelphia, was in the Borelli Bey collection, which was dispersed in Paris in 1913; in the sale catalogue of that collection it was given the number 223. In referring to it, therefore, I shall speak of it as "the Borelli lecythus."² It is 0.385 m. in height. The mouth, handle, upper part of the neck, and lower part of the body are covered with the black glaze; the foot and upper end of the lip are left in the color of the clay; while the rest of the body is covered with the firm, hard, cream-colored slip, characteristic of the earlier white lecythi. It is said to have been found in Athens.

In another place³ I have described the subject of this vase, and shall take the liberty of quoting from that description.

"The subject is of great beauty, simplicity, and restraint. At the left sits a woman (Fig. 1, A) with a circle of beads in her hands; she is evidently stringing them for use as a necklace. The chair in which she sits is of a graceful and beautiful design, and is drawn in a black wash on the cream-colored background. Her hair is rendered in the same manner. She is wearing two garments, a chiton and a himation, the chiton being the under-garment. This is rendered in a chalky white, much of which has flaked off,

¹ *J.H.S.* XXXIV, 1914, pp. 179-226, and especially pp. 219-222.

² It is published in the sale catalogue, pl. XXIII, and also in the *Museum Journal* of the University Museum, VIII, 1917, pp. 21-25, and figs. 3 and 4.

³ *Museum Journal*, l. c. p. 22.



FIGURE 1.—THE BORELLI LEKYTHOS: PHILADELPHIA.

the idea being in this manner, perhaps, naturalistically to show the brilliant white of clean linen. The himation, being a shawl-like wrap of a heavier material, was rendered in the color of the background. Flesh parts are in this same chalky white, in a manner which, as will be shown, is peculiar to the maker of this

vase. Above her, in the field, are hanging a mirror, and a long pouch, drawn together with strings, called by archaeologists a 'sakkos.'

"In front of her stands another woman (Fig. 1, B), in a long, simple chiton, without sleeves. In her left hand she carries a large tray or basket, from which hang three fillets of white, and two longer ones of red, and which is filled with offerings of various sorts. Her right arm and hand hang at her side, and are most beautifully rendered. Above her, in the field, hangs an exquisite little pitcher. Between the two women is inscribed the dedicatory inscription, ΔΙΦΙΛΟΣ ΚΑΛΟΣ."

The existence of a group of vases with the *καλός*-name Diphilos, and all by the same hand, was first definitely shown by Mr. R. C. Bosanquet.¹ In an able article he grouped together twelve vases as being by the same master, four of which have the name Diphilos, three Glaucon, two Dromippos, and one each, Lichas, Alcimedes, and Axiopeithes. This last is the famous "Spinelli" lecythus (Fig. 5), now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, and a very important vase in the theory which it is my hope to prove in this article. Another vase with the name of Lichas, also in Boston, should be included with these vases of Bosanquet's (Fig. 6)².

Mr. Bosanquet proves, with what seems to me absolute certainty, that this group of vases should be dated at about 465 B.C. This date he obtains both on grounds of technique, and because it seems possible to link one of the *καλός*-names (Lichas) with an historical character.³

It is not my intention to furnish a complete list of Diphilos vases, but it will be worth while to see what new ones have come to light since Bosanquet's article. Klein⁴ adds one (in the Museo Artistico Industriale at Rome) to Mr. Bosanquet's list, and Mr. Bosanquet's No. 7, which was in the trade in Paris when he wrote his article, is located by Klein in the Tyszkiewicz collection.⁵

¹ *J.H.S.* XVI, 1896, pp. 164-177, and pls. IV-VII. See also Weissshauepl, *Ath. Mitt.* XV, 1890, pp. 49 f.

² *J.H.S.* l. c. pp. 167-168, footnote 6.

³ *J. H. S. l. c.* p. 167.

⁴ *Lieblingsinschriften*, s. v. 'Diphilos,' pp. 159-160.

⁵ I was at first tempted to believe that the Borelli vase might be the same as the Tyszkiewicz vase; but a reference to Fairbanks (see next note) proves that they are different.

Dr. Fairbanks¹ adds no new vases to the regular Diphilos group, but he cites a vase with this name, of a technique which he considers later, now in the Museum of Berlin.² He says that this is perhaps a different Diphilos from the one referred to above, although he is inclined to believe that it is the same, as the



FIGURE 2.—LECYTHUS IN ATHENS, NO. 1629.

vases are almost contemporaneous. This vase has since been assigned by Mr. Beazley to his Achilles master.³

Mr. R. C. McMahon, writing in 1907, almost at the same time as Dr. Fairbanks, declares that he has seen eleven lecythi with the *καλός*-name Diphilos.⁴ Most of these must have been in

¹ *Athenian White Lekythoi*, vol. I (Univ. of Mich. Humanistic Series, vol. VI), pp. 161-164. I shall in future refer to Fairbanks, vol. I or vol. II as the case may be, not to the numbers of the volumes in the Michigan series.

² *L. c.* pp. 222-23, no. 44, Berlin, Inv. 3970.

³ *J.H.S.* XXXIV, 1914, p. 221, no. 7 bis.

⁴ *A.J.A.* XI, 1907, p. 18, footnote 1.

Athens, as Nicole's supplementary catalogue gives us six new Diphilos vases, and two new ones with Dromippos.¹

The best place to study the Diphilos-Dromippos group is now in Riezler's *Weissgrundige Attische Lekythen*, the plates of which admirably reproduce the salient features of these vases.² It was to these plates and the article of Bosanquet that I turned in trying to identify the Borelli lecythus in Philadelphia as a *bona fide* member of the Diphilos-Dromippos group.



FIGURE 3.—LECYTHUS IN ATHENS, No. 1628.

Although there are certain differences that make it a variant from the normal Diphilos type, I shall try to prove that this vase is a work of the same hand as the regular vases of the group. The two most important differences are that the palmette design on the shoulder seems to be of a slightly different order from most of the vases in Bosanquet's list, and that the patronymic ΜΕΛΑΝΟΠΟ is omitted from the *καλός*-name. I shall return to the palmette-design later; about the patronymic, it is sufficient to say that many other Diphilos vases also omit it.

¹ Diphilos, nos. 986-991; Dromippos, 992, 993. No. 990 is published in 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1906, pl. I; no. 991, *ibid.* pl. II.

² Pls. II-IX. Plates X and XII seem to me also to belong in this group, although they have no *καλός*-names.

Turning now to points of similarity, I would refer, for an earlier and almost exact, although artistically not as beautiful, replica of the Borelli vase, to a lecythus in Athens (Fig. 2).¹ The resemblance there is so close that they can only be by the same hand. If further proof be needed, another lecythus in Athens will provide it (Fig. 3).² The figure on the right is almost identical with the corresponding figure on the Borelli vase (Fig. 1, B).

When we add that practically the same color schemes as well as artistic technique are employed, particularly the same use of white overcolor for flesh parts and details of drapery, it seems to make the attribution indisputable. When we add further that



FIGURE 4.—PALMETTE ON SHOULDER OF LECYTHUS.

on the shoulder of the Philadelphia vase is painted a palmette-design identical with one reproduced by Mr. Bosanquet (Fig. 4),³ it seems to add a finishing touch, although we have noticed that this shoulder-design is also a point of divergence. On a later page I shall discuss this matter at some length. Suffice it to say at this point that Mr. Bosanquet considers it the latest of the three designs that he copies, and thinks that it came at the end

of the period of "white flesh technique" already mentioned as a peculiarity of this group of vases.

I have now shown, and, I trust, without question, what, after all, would be the natural conclusion to reach; namely, that the Borelli lecythus in Philadelphia is by the same hand as the rest of the Diphilos-Dromippos group. The harder task remains; *i.e.*, to attempt to prove that this group is by the so-called "Achilles master," so successfully identified by Mr. Beazley.⁴ I should

¹ Collignon-Couve, 1629, Inv. 1923. Illustration from Riezler, pl. VII. Fairbanks, I, p. 162, no. 12, where a bibliography will be found. Bosanquet, *l. c.* p. 165, no. 6.

² Collignon-Couve, 1628, Inv. 1963. Illustration from Riezler, pl. IV. For a reproduction in colors, see *ibid.* pl. IV a. Fairbanks, *l. c.* p. 161, no. 10. Bosanquet, *l. c.* p. 165, no. 5.

³ *L. c.* pp. 174-177, and especially fig. 5, form C, here reproduced.

⁴ *J.H.S.* XXXIV, 1914, pp. 179-226.

add, in support of my attempt, that Mr. Beazley himself has already granted that "many of the other lecythi with Diphilos bear a strong resemblance to our group" (that of the Achilles painter).¹ I believe that this is because they are actually by the same hand.

In 1899, Mr. Bosanquet published² a second article on the subject of white lecythi, in which he groups together twenty-one vases as by the same hand. These he calls the "Hygiainon



FIGURE 5.—THE SPINELLI LECYTHUS: BOSTON.

group," from the leading *καλός*-name found among them. Among these vases he includes the "Spinelli" lecythus,³ and therefore, as he considers them of later date, removes it from the Diphilos-Dromippos group, although he declares that it forms a connecting link between the two types. Mr. Beazley includes

¹ *L. c.* p. 220, footnote 35. The reason for the word "other" is because he believes the vase in Berlin with the name of Diphilos to be by the Achilles painter. See p. 22, and footnote 3 above.

² *J.H.S.* XIX, 1899, pp. 169-184, and especially pp. 178-181.

³ *L. c.* p. 180, vase B.

nineteen of Mr. Bosanquet's list in his catalogue of white lecythi by the Achilles master,¹ among them the Spinelli lecythus.²

It is plain that the points of resemblance between the Spinelli vase and the Diphilos-Dromippos group, as well as the points of divergence, are just as obvious now as when Mr. Bosanquet wrote his first article. I would, therefore, suggest that he is right in grouping it with this class of vases, and at the same time not wrong in assigning it to the Hygiainon group, which, in turn, is, as we have seen, given by Mr. Beazley to his Achilles master. In other words, I believe that the vases of the Diphilos-Dromippos group are early works of the Achilles master, and that the lecythus in Philadelphia is the missing link that binds them together.

Through the courtesy of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, I am enabled at this point to insert photographs of the Spinelli lecythus (Fig. 5), which has already been published and described many times.³ This vase, acquired by Boston in 1913, has the inventory number 13.187. It is justly regarded as one of the finest white lecythi that has come down to us.

A hint that we are dealing with the same man who produced the Diphilos-Dromippos group, is afforded by the *καλός*-name, where we find, as in that group of vases, the rather unusual addition of the patronymic, written *στοιχηδόν*, in letters of almost identical form. A comparison of these various *καλός*-inscriptions will be found below.⁴

In the Borelli lecythus in Philadelphia, the patronymic is omitted, but the inscription is otherwise written exactly as in the other Diphilos-Dromippos vases, *i.e.*, $\begin{matrix} \Delta \Phi \Lambda \Theta \Xi \\ \text{KALOC} \end{matrix}$, even

¹ Two of them, Bosanquet J and T, he does not include, and Bosanquet P (Beazley 37) he includes "with some hesitation" (*l. c.* p. 222, footnote 36).

² This vase is Beazley 36.

³ Fairbanks, I, p. 215, no. 32; II, p. 249, no. 32, pl. XL; *Röm. Mitt.* 1887, pl. XII, 5, etc.

⁴ Spinelli vase:	Usual Diphilos, <i>e.g.</i> , Riezler, pl. V.	Usual Dromippos, <i>e.g.</i> , Riezler, pl. II.
ΑΞΙΟΓΕΙ[ΘΗ]Ξ	ΔΙΦΙΛΟΞ	ΔΡΟΜΙΓΡΟΞ
ΚΑΛΟC	ΚΑΛΟC	ΚΑΛΟΞ
ΑΛΚΙΜΑ+[Ο]	ΜΕΛΑΝΟΓΟ	ΔΡΟΜΟΚΛΕΙΔΟ

For other *καλός*-names in this group see Bosanquet, *J.H.S.* XVI, 1896, p. 165. A white lecythus with the name Alcimachus, father of Axiopieithes, and probably by the same hand, is in Athens (Riezler, pl. III); see also Klein, *Lieblingsinschr.*, pp. 165-166.

including the quasi-lunate sigma in *καλός*, common to many of the Diphilos vases and to the Spinelli lecythus,¹ and to another lecythus with the name of Axiopieithes, also in Boston.² On epigraphical grounds, therefore, it is very tempting to assume that all of these vases are by the same hand; but this is extremely unsafe, as the hand that painted the inscriptions may not have been the hand that actually painted the designs on the vases. We can only say that it proves at most that the inscriptions must have been done by one man, and that, therefore, the "white-flesh technique" of the Diphilos-Dromippos group is contemporaneous with the different technique of the Hygiainon class. In any case, however, the epigraphy would point to all of these vases coming from the same workshop.

Another reason to think this to be true has already been touched upon. We have seen that there is a lecythus with the name Diphilos, in Berlin, which has been assigned by Dr. Fairbanks to the Hygiainon group, and by Mr. Beazley to the Achilles master. Dr. Fairbanks considers that it is highly probable that the Diphilos on this vase may refer to the same Diphilos as the other vases, and it seems to me that this is almost surely the case.³

Coming now to questions of technique, let us compare the seated figures on the Borelli lecythus in Philadelphia (Fig. 1, A) and the Spinelli lecythus in Boston (Fig. 5). With the exception of the fact that the Philadelphia vase employs the "white-flesh technique," there is very little difference between the two. They are, indeed, identical, even in the manner of the treatment of the drapery, the pose of the arms and hands, the dressing of the hair, the position of the feet, and the slight flare of the chiton at the ankles. The chair, too, is painted in exactly the same manner, with the cross-pieces of the seat indicated by groups of three lines placed at equal distances from each other. It is perhaps a little more carefully rendered in the Philadelphia lecythus, which, indeed, is the more carefully painted of the two, although the excellent preservation of the colors and the rich texture of the white slip on the Boston vase make it the more pleasing today.

¹ *E.g.*, Nicole, 994; 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1905, pl. I; Riezler, pls. V, VII, and perhaps IX.

² Beazley, 35. Fairbanks, *l. c.* II, p. 249, no. 32 a, pl. XLI.

³ Fairbanks, I, pp. 222-223, no. 44. Beazley, *l. c.* p. 221, no. 7 bis. Unfortunately, this vase is unpublished, and I have not seen it. There seems to be no way under present conditions of securing a photograph of it.

In the field, in each vase, is hung a mirror, an oenochoe, and a *sakkos*. In the Borelli lecythus, the mirror and *sakkos* are over the seated figure, the oenochoe above the standing; in the Spinelli, it is the mirror and oenochoe which are at the left, and the *sakkos* at the right.

I think that anybody who, with an open mind, compares these two seated figures carefully, will agree with me that only one hand could have produced them both. In the face, I have only to call attention to the profile of the lips, and the firm, round chin of both figures, to prove this. It is unfortunate that in the Philadelphia specimen the "white flesh technique" was employed; for, when it flaked off, it took with it many details that I am convinced would have shown the same method of treatment which we see in the Spinelli vase, as, for instance, the treatment of the eyes—a most important item, as all students of Greek vases know—and of the mouth. Still, it seems to me that enough is left to make my attribution absolutely certain.

It will, however, be said in objection, "But your right-hand figure in the Spinelli vase (Fig. 5) is superior to anything in the Diphilos-Dromippos group." This is true; in the freedom of the pose, and in such details as the drawing of the feet, for instance, a great advance has been made. But it is also true that we can see this advance in the seated figure on the Borelli vase, where the feet are properly drawn, and we have shown that this Borelli vase must be classed with the other Diphilos-Dromippos specimens.¹ On the other hand, a glance at some of the plates and figures of "Achilles" vases in Beazley's article² shows that this master was very uneven, and that his treatment of the foot can be just as bad as on some of the Diphilos-Dromippos vases, so that this is not a good criterion. Furthermore, he always draws the foot in full front exactly as it is drawn in the Diphilos vases. Moreover, apart from the increased freedom of pose, the profile and other details show the same tendencies in this right-hand figure in the Boston lecythus that we find in the Diphilos specimens.

Two vases that can be compared with each other to supplement and confirm this theory of mine, are the lecythus in Bos-

¹ For the drawing of the feet on the Diphilos-Dromippos vases, compare the illustrations from Riezler reproduced above (Figs. 2 and 3).

² *L. c.*, especially pls. XIII and XIV, and figs. 3, 4, 5, 8 a, 13, 14, 15, and 23.



FIGURE 6.—THE LICHAS LECYTHUS: BOSTON.

ton already referred to, with the *καλός*-name Lichas (Fig. 6),¹ a work of the Diphilos-Dromippos group, and the beautiful Hygiainon lecythus in the Art Museum of Worcester, Mass. (Fig. 7),² already assigned by Mr. Beazley to his Achilles

¹ Published, Riezler, text, p. 18, fig. 11; Fairbanks, I, p. 165, no. 15.

² Published, Fairbanks, I, p. 217, no. 35, and pl. IX, 1.

master.¹ Here again, I think that the Boston vase is an early work by the same hand.²

A small detail, but one that adds cumulative evidence that brings with it a weight of its own to prove all this, is the fact that



FIGURE 7.—THE HYGIAINON LECYTHUS: WORCESTER.

the decorative patterns above the designs on these vases are strikingly alike in nearly every case. They are identical on the

¹ *L. c.* p. 221, no. 24.

² An even better example is British Museum, D50, published by Bosanquet, *J.H.S.* XVI, 1896, pl. VI, also a Lichas vase.

Borelli and Spinelli vases, and also on the Worcester vase and the Lichas lecythus in Boston. This is, of course, a small point, but of a very special importance, as the patterns used on the Borelli and Lichas vases seem to be favorites of the Achilles master.

Another significant feature is the palmette-design on the shoulder (Fig. 4). Mr. Bosanquet, in his first article, says he is ignorant of any of the Diphilos-Dromippos vases with this design. His exact words¹ are as follows:—"Of Form C (Fig. 4 of this article) I cannot give an instance among the twelve vases of our series. On No. 11,² where we should expect to find it, the shoulder pattern is obliterated; on No. 12 (the Spinelli vase) I have no information. We find it for the first time on the Boston Lichas-vase (Fig. 6 of this article) . . . which is among the latest instances of the use of white for women's flesh. Broadly speaking, Form A³ disappeared at the same time as this white-flesh technique, and was replaced by Form C."

Now we find that the Borelli vase in Philadelphia has this Form C, that it has the *καλός*-name Diphilos, the "white-flesh technique," and is obviously by the same hand as the other vases of the Diphilos-Dromippos group, and that not only on grounds of technique, but on the cumulative evidence offered by the decoration, it should be put late in that group. Furthermore, the Hygiainon vases collected by Mr. Bosanquet in his second article all seem to have this shoulder design,⁴ and since the acquisition of the Spinelli lecythus by the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, it has become clear that it, too, has the same arrangement of palmettes, thereby helping to prove that the Borelli lecythus in Philadelphia is a "missing link" that binds the two groups (Diphilos-Dromippos and Hygiainon) together, and points to all being works of the "Achilles master."

We have now approached the problem from three points of view. First of all, there was the epigraphy of the vases, in which we saw that the nature of the inscriptions, the manner of their writing, and the forms of the letters were identical in both groups, suggesting that they all came from the same workshop. In the

¹ *J.H.S.* XVI, 1896, p. 175.

² This is Oxford, 266, P. Gardner, Catalogue of Ashmolean Museum, pl. XX, and Bosanquet, *l. c.* p. 165. It has the inscription ΑΛΚΙΜ(Η)ΔΗΞ ΚΑΛΟΞ ΑΙΞ+ΥΑΙΔΟ.

³ Bosanquet, *l. c.* p. 175, fig. 3.

⁴ *J.H.S.* XIX, 1899, p. 179, fig. 5.

second place, and most important of all, we took up the subject of artistic technique, and tried to show that, from that angle, both groups were works of the same hand. Finally, we have studied the decorative patterns, such as the borders and shoulder decorations, and found that the borders used are found in the known works of the Achilles painter, and that the palmette-design on the shoulder of the Borelli vase is of great importance, as it provides the link that binds the two groups together. From all these points of view, I can arrive at but one conclusion: namely, that in future, among the works of the Achilles master, we must include, as early works, the white lecythi of the Diphilos-Dromippos group. The large number of vases already known to be by his hand indicates that his work extended over a long period, and therefore this conclusion is entirely justifiable.¹

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¹ I wish to thank several people at this point for various kindnesses for which I am extremely grateful. First of all, I want to thank my old teacher, Professor George H. Chase, of Harvard University, without whose encouragement I should probably not have written this paper. To Dr. G. B. Gordon, my chief in the University Museum, I am indebted for permission to publish the lecythus in Philadelphia, and for many other courtesies. To Dr. Arthur Fairbanks and Dr. Lacey D. Caskey, of the Museum of Fine Arts in Boston, I am indebted for permission to republish the Spinelli vase, and for a generous collection of photographs of vases in their possession of which they permitted me to make any use I pleased. I owe the same debt to Miss Gisela M. A. Richter of the Metropolitan Museum in New York. To the authorities of the Worcester Art Museum I am greatly indebted for photographs of the Hygieion lecythus in their possession.

THE ORIGIN OF THE TRIGLYPH FRIEZE

SINCE the days of Vitruvius at least it has been the belief of most of those who have given attention to the matter that the triglyph frieze in Doric architecture arose from construction in wood. On this assumption our histories of architecture well nigh universally maintain that the triglyph represents the sheathed beam end of such primitive buildings, and that the metopes represent filling of what were originally openings through the frieze. I have elsewhere¹ sought to show how insecure is our ground for the belief in open friezes and I now presume to question the accuracy of the belief that the triglyph represents the original beam end.

The source and the chief sponsor of the prevailing theory is Vitruvius, who sets forth his argument for the identification of the triglyphs as beam ends in his *De Architectura*, IV, 2, 4: *non enim quemadmodum nonnulli errantes dixerunt fenestrarum imagines esse triglyphos, ita potest esse, quod in angulis contraque terantes columnarum triglyphi constituuntur, quibus in locis omnino non patitur res fenestras fieri. dissolvuntur enim angulorum in aedificiis iuncturae, si in is fenestrarum fuerint lumina relictia. etiamque ubi nunc triglyphi constituuntur, si ibi luminum spatia fuisse iudicabuntur, isdem rationibus denticuli in ionicis fenestrarum occupavisse loca videbuntur. utraque enim, et inter denticulos et inter triglyphos quae sunt intervalla, metopae nominantur. οπας enim Graeci tignorum cubicula et asserum appellant, uti nostri ea cava columbaria. ita quod inter duas opas est intertignum, id μετοπη est apud eos nominata.* [Krohn.]

This passage is usually accepted with implicit confidence as the final word on the subject. No one, so far as I am aware, has ever seen fit to inquire into the possibility of Vitruvius having chosen the wrong side of the argument, even though it is perfectly clear that he is here debating a matter in which he found some real difference of opinion among his sources. Let us therefore order a review of the case and see if errors of fact and of method do not

¹ A.J.A. XXII, 1918, pp. 434 ff.

exist in sufficient numbers to justify grave doubts as to the correctness of his conclusions.

We notice first of all that, in his discussion of the theory he rejects, Vitruvius assumes that the frieze developed in the peripteral temple or, at least, that it was used constructionally in it. In this he shows his fallibility, for we now know that buildings of the type which, in all probability, gave rise to the Greek temple existed at Troy and perhaps at Dimini and Sesklo some 1500 to 2000 years before the first peripteral temple.

It would simplify matters for us if we knew just what our author is attempting to translate from his Greek sources by *fenestrarum imagines*. He apparently uses *fenestra* in a literal sense as "a permanent opening to admit light," for only a real opening of some sort would justify his argument as to the weakening of the corners; and we may at once concede our approval of his conclusion that, in the finished building the frieze was never left open.¹ But the word he found may not have meant a permanent opening, although Guadet and Holland take it so and proceed to the reconstruction of an elaborate open frieze in which the roof is supported on pillars, the later triglyphs.² It seems on the whole simpler to assume that some of the authors on whom Vitruvius draws asserted that the metopes represented the beam ends and that in consequence the triglyphs must have been "spaces" (κενά, ὀπαί, παραθυρίδια). Such an expression need not have meant that the spaces were functional, but Vitruvius evidently so understood and he chose the very best word to convey his meaning. It is true that we have no contemporary examples of ὀπαί in the sense of "*fenestrae*," but the word is so used in the days of Constantine and these are in no case ordinary windows.

Another possibility to be reckoned with is that the term is merely a late deduction from the word μετόπη, for one might argue that if a μετόπη is a "surface between openings," the triglyphs must represent the openings. This leads, of course, to the possibility that the "*nonnulli*" were nothing more than etymologists of the type of Varro. Some importance attaches to this possibility by reason of the esteem in which Varro was held by Vitruvius and by the fondness of the age for such explanations.

¹ Cf. Noack, *Jb. Kl. Alt.* I, 1898, pp. 656 ff.

² They assume that the *τριγλύφους* of the source had reference to the whole frieze, as in *Bacchae* 1214.

Vitruvius argues that triglyphs cannot represent openings because they come at the corner of a building and, in that case, there could be no "joints" at that point. Aside from the fact that one cannot argue origins from peripteral temples, it is somewhat surprising that our author, who is so fond of citing parallels, should have overlooked the obvious parallel of the Ionic dentils. What he apparently does is to assume that in every case the opening must go clear through the frieze. There is, nevertheless, an *intervallum* if not a *fenestra* at the corner of the Ionic moulding, and some such solution as the Ionic architect devised for turning the corner, when he did face the construction of the peripteral

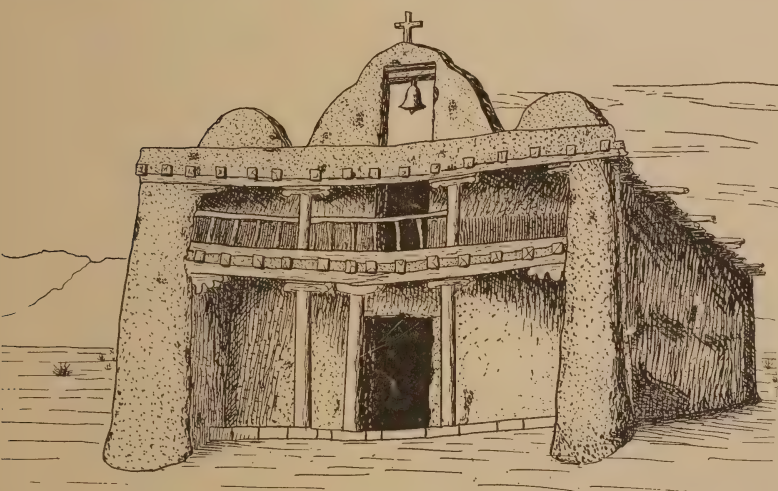


FIGURE 1.—CHURCH IN COCHITI PUEBLO.

temple, must have been adopted for that purpose in the Doric frieze. Since, however, in our earliest extant remains the frieze is purely decorative and no longer constructional, we have to reckon with the fact that it may never have been more than decorative in any stone example.

In connection with the primitive temple, attention is called to the accompanying drawing (Fig. 1) of the Spanish-Indian church in Cochiti Pueblo, New Mexico. Save for its balcony and its round turrets this church represents far better than the well-known "Peasant's House in Persia" of Dieulafoy the probable appearance of the primitive megaron of sun-dried brick and wood. It will be seen that the beams of the portico of the church

do not come at the corners, but at those points are "voids" filled with clay. Still, no one would be likely to call this construction weak.

The second item which Vitruvius adduces against our theory has to do with the placing of the triglyph directly over the centre of its supporting column (*contra tetrantes columnarum*). Our illustration may again serve to show how this is possible for, although there are five columns in the Cochiti façade, in no instance does a ceiling beam centre with a column; in fact, in three of the five examples, a "void" appears above the column.

The final argument of Vitruvius is somewhat more complicated: he tells us that the Greeks called the beds of timbers and of beams *ὀπάς*, for which the Latin equivalent is *columbaria*. The filling (*intertignium*) they called *μετόπας*, and this is true of both the Doric frieze and the Ionic dentils. In regard to the latter he observes that the theory he combats would make openings of the *denticuli*. Vitruvius is not altogether consistent in his use of terms, for he first says that the spaces (*intervalla*) between the dentils are called *metopae* and then it is the filling between the dentils (*intertignium*) which receives that name, while in III, 5, 11 he uses *intersectio* of the same element in the moulding. It would be superfluous to introduce an argument to show that a void cannot be referred to in Greek as a *μετόπη*, although it would be easy to find many recent examples of the barbarism. It is probably true that the face of the filling did receive that name, so that *intertignium* is the correct Latin equivalent.¹ But it does not follow that openings are necessary in order to have a facing, even with the word *μετόπη*.

A good example of what I have in mind is the *μέτωπον* of classical writers and architects. This word, if it means "space above the eyes," "forehead," is evidently a compound derived from *μετά* and *ὤψ*, but it is used, without implication of eyes, of the face of a wall (Thuc. III. 21); of the exposed surface of the riser in a stairway (Έφ. Ἀρχ. 1900, p. 94, line 47); of the face of a pyramid (Herodotus, II. 124). Now in the famous arsenal of Philon we have a *μέτωπον* which has a doorway on either side,²

¹ The definition of *intertignium* as a "space between beams" in Harper's Dictionary is incorrect, for the word cannot mean a "space" or "void" in this, the only passage cited, "*quod inter duas opas est intertignium*."

² Caskey and Hill, *A.J.A.* XII, 1908, p. 192, err in deriving *μέτωπον* = "the space between the eyes" from *μετά*, *ὀπή*, and they force the Greek too far in

but the doorway is not necessary to the term,¹ although we might so infer had we only the last cited instance of it. It is in this sense of "facing" that I understand *μετόπη* used of the filling between the dentils of the Ionic moulding.² We are unfortunate in that the word is found only in the *De Architectura*, and that we are deprived of means of verifying Vitruvius' use of it, as we are of knowing what other shades of meaning it may have had.

But we are not reduced to conjecture to show that our author's explanation is untenable: it forces us to believe that the metope got its name only when the frieze came to be made of stone, for surely no one would think that in simple construction of sun-dried brick and wood the filling was put in place upon the architrave before the ceiling beams were laid. Doerpfeld has shown that the names of other details of the temple, such as *πλίνθοι* and *ὀρθοστάται*, originated with the humblest materials. Is it then likely that the metope was rechristened when stone supplanted wood and when the triglyph frieze had become purely decorative? Indeed, at this time the ceiling beams were placed at a higher level than the frieze; there were no longer *ὀπαί* out of which *μετόπαι* could be made.

If "metope" means a filling between openings it must be a name growing out of a purely temporary condition in the process of temple construction. . Once the frieze was done we should have in the word the best possible example of a *lucus a non lucendo*, as Keil has so aptly suggested.³

It may not be out of place at this point to call attention to the fact that should we, in spite of all these difficulties, adhere to Vitruvius' explanation, we must give up Winckelmann's theory of the open frieze based on *Iphigenia Taurica* 113 f. It is my belief that both views are wrong but, at any rate, we cannot have them both, for one excludes the other.

insisting that τὰ μέτωπα (1.59) must include the walls marked M' M'' in their figure 3. Cf. Keil, *Hermes*, XIX, 1884, pp. 159 ff. It may be possible that the use of the term μέτωπον in military matters influenced the connotation of the word even in architecture. If εἰς μέτωπον στήναι (Xen. *Cyr.* II, 4, 2-4) means "to stand in line" may not the *metopon* of the arsenal have received its name because it was to stand in line with the main walls?

¹ In spite of Ebert, *Fachausdrücke des griechischen Bauhandwerks*, p. 30.

² The best authenticated term for our "metope" is neither μέτωπον nor *μετόπη* but *μετόπιον* (*I.G.* II, 1054b, p. 227, 31, 39; cf. also Hesychius, s.v. *μετόπιον*).

³ *Hermes*, XIX, 1884, p. 159, note 2.

Of modern theories regarding the origin of the Doric frieze nearly all assume that the triglyph is sheathing for an original beam end. Chipiez¹ based his reconstruction largely on an alabaster slab which was discovered many years ago in Tiryns. Since, however, Frickenhaus has shown² that the slab had nothing to do with any part of the superstructure, this attempt need not detain us.

Another reconstruction is that of von Reber,³ which is reproduced herewith (Fig. 2). It assumes a pitched roof, ceiling beams all running across the building in the same direction, and rather useless duplication of beams in the epistyle. Von Reber also

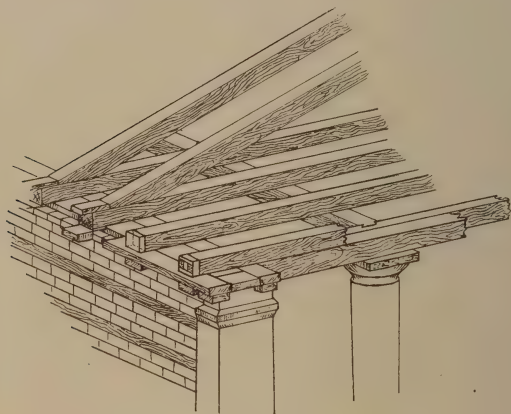


FIGURE 2.—ORIGIN OF THE DORIC FRIEZE: VON REBER.

makes use of the alabaster slab of Tiryns as an element in the construction of the triglyph. The spaces between the ceiling beams he leaves open to supply light to the interior of the building.

There are numerous interesting items in Choisy's reconstruction (Fig. 3).⁴ In it the frieze is apparently developed along the side of the peripteral temple, since the drawing shows a column and, above it, a pitched roof. On the architrave are placed at intervals transverse planks that project both at front and rear;

¹ Perrot and Chipiez, *Art in Primitive Greece*, II, pp. 146 ff.

² *Tiryns* I, p. 37.

³ *Abh. bayr. Akad. Hist. Cl.*, XXI, 1898, pp. 475 ff.

⁴ *Histoire de l'architecture*, I, pp. 287 ff. I know this reconstruction only at second hand.

then come the heavy ceiling beams, resting upon the planks. The beams are faced with slabs, the triglyphs, which are held in place at the top by mortises cut in a heavy beam that parallels the architrave, while at the bottom they are pegged through the planks. The rafters are heavy planks which are set fairly close and are joined on the under side by short, transverse pieces that later become the mutules. Questionable in this reconstruction are: (1) the planks on which the ceiling beams rest, since they serve so far as one can see, only to motivate the triglyphs, regulae, and guttae, and have no real constructional purpose; even in a wall of sun-dried brick such pieces would serve no useful purpose, as

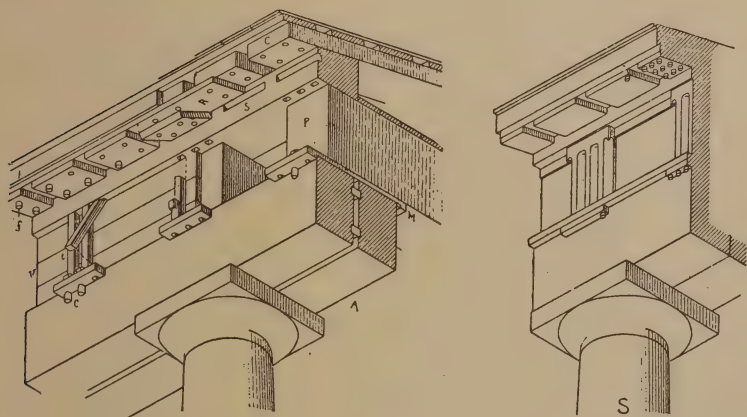


FIGURE 3.—THE PRIMITIVE DORIC ENTABLATURE: CHOISY.

would a continuous plank running with the wall and distributing the weight of the roof evenly upon its top; (2) there is no justification for facing the ends of the ceiling beams; (3) the reconstruction fails to account for taeniae above and below the frieze and for the abacus of metopes and triglyphs; and finally (4) the use of material is, as has been pointed out, extravagant for the purpose illustrated.

Guadet's reconstruction¹ is so arbitrary and fanciful as to need little comment. It is based on the pitched roof and develops the triglyph, not from a ceiling beam, but from short posts which resemble a portion of a child's outfit of building blocks.

¹ *Éléments et théorie de l'architecture*, I, pp. 342 ff. Cf. *A.J.A.* XXI, 1917, p. 140, Fig. 9.

The frieze is left open, and nearly all its details, as also those of the cornice, appear as pure ornament rather than as organic parts of the construction.

Holland,¹ after showing that we are not to seek the details of the frieze in Minoan-Mycenaean construction, endeavors by a painstaking study of the proportions of extant early Doric buildings to derive the frieze from a combination of small pieces of wood and sun-dried brick. The result is ingenious but not convincing. He has failed to take account of the finds in Troy,

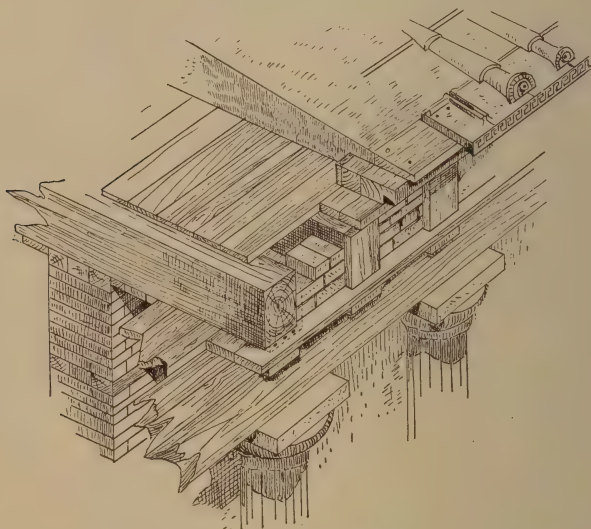


FIGURE 4.—ORIGIN OF THE DORIC FRIEZE: DURM.

Dimini, and Sesklo, and overlooks the invaluable work of Noack cited below. Furthermore, the construction appears unsound in that the slender piers of sun-dried brick which form the triglyphs would be unable to bear the weight that is laid upon them, especially in a land of earthquakes which were violent enough to throw down even sturdy buildings of stone;² and, finally, it develops the frieze along the side of the building where it almost never appears in the non-peripteral temple.

¹ *A.J.A.* XXI, 1917, pp. 117-158, Plate VII.

² It is true that construction somewhat like that which Holland proposes was in use in the walls of Athens (cf. Caskey, *A.J.A.* XIV, 1910, pp. 298-309) but the size of the supporting piers of the walls is unknown and, in any case, the span covered by the roof need not have been more than ten feet.

Durm,¹ basing his work on Vitruvius, the vase paintings, and the necessities of construction, has given us a valuable conception of a primitive temple (Fig. 4). He is commendably cautious, but fails to explain how it happens that we have no tiles from these primitive buildings, or why it should be necessary to face the beam ends. Nevertheless, his work commands our respect and, granted that Vitruvius is right and the vase paintings trustworthy, it is about as satisfactory as we can find among the more conservative writers.

Most satisfactory of all suggested reconstructions is, however, that of Noack.² After commenting on von Reber's proposals,

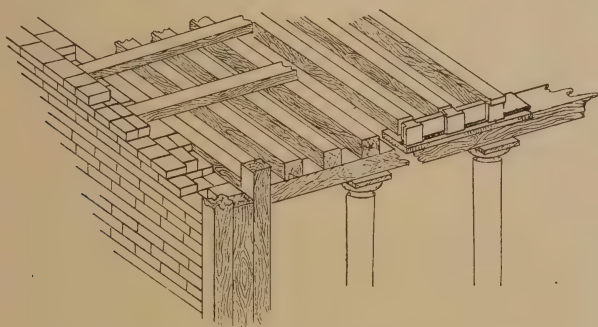


FIGURE 5.—ORIGIN OF THE DORIC FRIEZE: NOACK.

Noack presents us with an illustration of his own reconstruction (Fig. 5). He assumes, first of all, a flat roof of clay, which is necessary to justify the large dimensions of triglyphs and metopes. The beams of the façade he places parallel to the long axis of the building, thereby removing certain complications in von Reber's work. As facing for the beam ends to produce the triglyph he uses a modified form of the alabaster slab already mentioned, stating, however, that the slab was not the original facing, but itself copied from an earlier form in wood. The facing is held in place at the bottom by pegs driven through a regula and a plank that serves as motive for the later taenia. A mortised plank resting along the top of the ceiling beam explains the upper border of the triglyph. The general conception of place of development, flat roof, and dimensions of parts is correct. Noack fails to justify the facing of beam ends

¹ *Baukunst der Griechen*,² p. 375.

² *Jb. kl. Alt.* I, 1898, pp. 654-668.

and he gives no theory of development of the cornice, but his work is thoroughly done and clearly and convincingly stated.

It is now time to inquire whether it may not be possible to suggest a reconstruction which will obviate the difficulties of previous attempts and, at the same time, give due credit to the sources on which reconstructions must be based as well as to the necessities of the technique of sun-dried brick and wood. It will not be possible to settle definitely the question of flat roof versus pitched roof, although the finds in Troy II, the absence of early roof tiles, and the presence of a horizontal as well as a raking cornice in historic architecture are strong evidence in favor of the former. The vase paintings, *et dona ferentes*, are contradictory and, in the nature of things, sketchy and altogether untrustworthy as regards detail. Vitruvius, who lived in the Age of Augustus, must not be overlooked but, in view of his distance from the beginnings as well as of the methods of research practised in his time as against the careful studies that have, in our own day, been made of the extant remains, it will not be justifiable to look upon him as an oracle or, in fact, to give him more credence than is due a conscientious modern authority. Vitruvius undoubtedly had some sources that fail us, but no one, probably, ever wrote a history of architecture before the fourth century B.C. Aside from that, a man is not infallible simply because it was 2,000 years ago when he took sides in an argument in which we are interested.

An attempt will be made to do away with the unnecessary facing of beam ends and with the breaking up of one panel, the beam end, only to immediately construct a similar one beside it. Our reconstruction also makes it clear why, in historic times, the triglyph was gradually narrowed at the expense of the metope. All the ornament of the historic entablature will be accounted for on constructional grounds, although it would be foolish to insist that in a matter which must needs be so largely speculative there are no errors of detail.

We may begin our proposed reconstruction by assuming an embryonic stage in which our building was of the type of the church in Cochiti Pueblo (Fig. 1). This church is built of sun-dried brick and wood, and has a flat roof of clay supported by heavy beams which extend from side wall to side wall, both ends being in plain view from without. In a new building of this type the beam ends are flush with the face of the wall; they are cut

square off and are not supplied with any sheathing. To cover the portico, however, the roof beams are laid parallel to the long axis of the church. They are supported in the façade by an

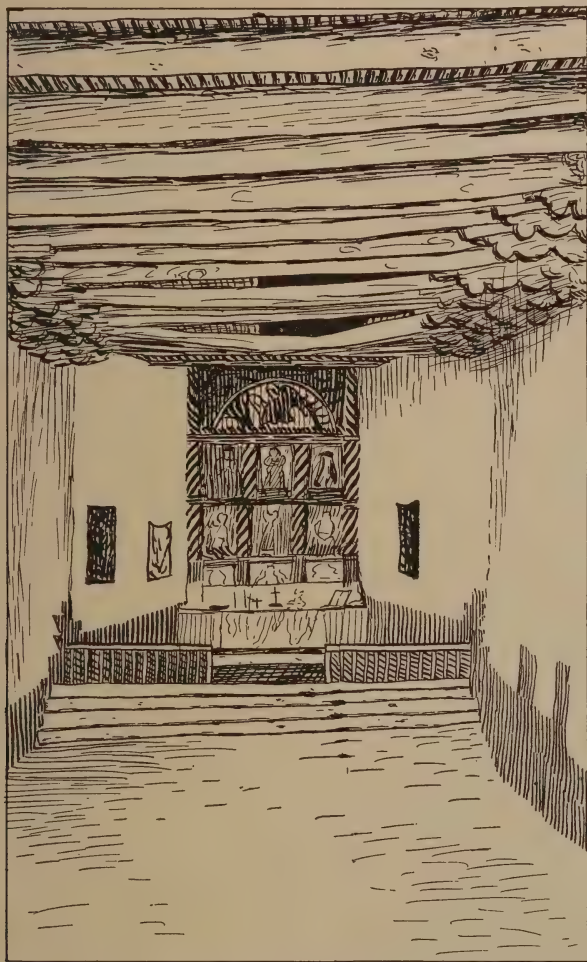


FIGURE 6.—CHURCH IN ACOMA PUEBLO.

architrave, which runs from wall to wall and is further held up by two columns *in antis* (the third column in our illustration being added to remedy a break). Upon the roof beams and at right angles to them smaller timbers of wood are laid in close order, as is shown in the drawing of the interior of a similar church at

Acoma Pueblo (Fig. 6). Next above the ancient Greeks may have placed a bed of reeds, straw, or the like; such a bed would help protect the timbers from moisture and decay, and would, further, make an even coating for the heavy layer of clay which topped the whole.

Now there is a serious drawback to a roof of the type described, and it is not that it demands constant attention and repair, for it is a simple matter to carry up a few buckets of clay after a heavy rain to replace what has inevitably washed away, just as it is no hardship to repair in a similar way the washing of the side walls;¹ but even the heaviest and firmest roof beams draw moisture from the walls in which they are bedded and inevitably decay. When this occurs the necessity arises of removing all the roof and replacing the beams with others, or of building over the roof and one lateral wall so as to make use of the sounder portions of the beams. This latter solution necessitates a reduction in the width of the church, but our illustration of the Cochiti church shows that it is one which is actually adopted. In fact we may see in it a possible explanation of the change in Greece from walls constructed of sun-dried brick to walls constructed throughout of stone.

If such be the case, the old temple at Tiryns, whose scanty remains Frickenhaus has so admirably published,² may assume great importance in the history of architecture. We can now account for the shifting of its longitudinal axis so far to one side (Fig. 7), for at least the foundation along the east side of the megaron could be utilized in the new building and possibly some of the ceiling beams could be used again. Frickenhaus seems to imply that the later temple had no interior columns supporting the roof, but the evidence for the reconstruction of everything save the plan is very slender and uncertain. It is, however, surprising that two columns of the cella as well as

¹ The pleasing, rounded contours of the new building of the School of American Archaeology at Santa Fe are said to be due to imitation of Spanish-Indian construction of the neighborhood, and to go back ultimately to the effect produced by years of weathering of the adobe coupled with years of continued repair. The repairs are conducted largely or altogether by women, who apply the soft adobe by hand to such cracks and crevices as have developed in the roof and walls. A good deal of the material falls to the ground and piles up there, but the rain is, of course, responsible for the rounding of roof edges and piers.

² *Tiryns* I, pp. 2-13.

one of the façade of the old megaron should be found precisely in the axis of the building. The walls of the later temple are thought to be too frail to support a flat roof, and this is probably true if there were no interior supports, but these walls were two feet thick and presumably of stone, so that with the help of interior columns they would do very nicely. If the building had a continuous history of several centuries, the fragments of terra-cotta and the stone capital, which was found near by, may well be assigned to a still later restoration when a pitched roof was employed.

Should the above surmise not seem too hazardous we may assume that interior columns, such as are indicated for the temple

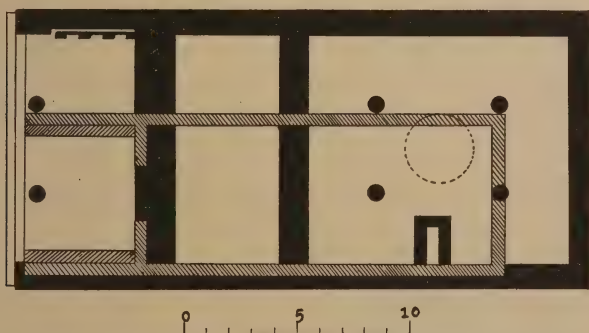


FIGURE 7.—PLAN OF MEGARON AND TEMPLE: TIRYNS.

of Artemis Orthia at Sparta and the temple in Thermos, are evidence for a flat roof of clay, rather than for a pitched roof of wood and tile. The change from a double row of columns to a single row would be easily accounted for, since in every case where the single row occurs the narrowness of the building is marked. I cannot believe that the Greek architect was so helpless as to resort to interior columns to support the peak of his pitched roof, unless the columns were already in position when he began his remodeling.

We have seen that the greatest defect in a flat roof of the New Mexican type lies in the certainty of unventilated beams decaying at the ends where they rest in the wall. The climate of Greece differs but slightly from that of our southwest and the tendency to decay is presumably about the same in both countries. To avoid this I assume that the Greek architect sought to ventilate his beams and timbers, and make my proposed reconstruction of

the prehistoric megaron-temple as illustrated in the accompanying drawing (Fig. 8). What is represented is a portion of the anterior façade of such a building. The architrave rests upon the walls and upon columns. Next comes planking upon which rest the heavy ceiling beams, or, if one prefers, a rail, pegged fast to the upper edge of the architrave.¹ This planking or rail is represented in later stone construction by the taenia; the ends of

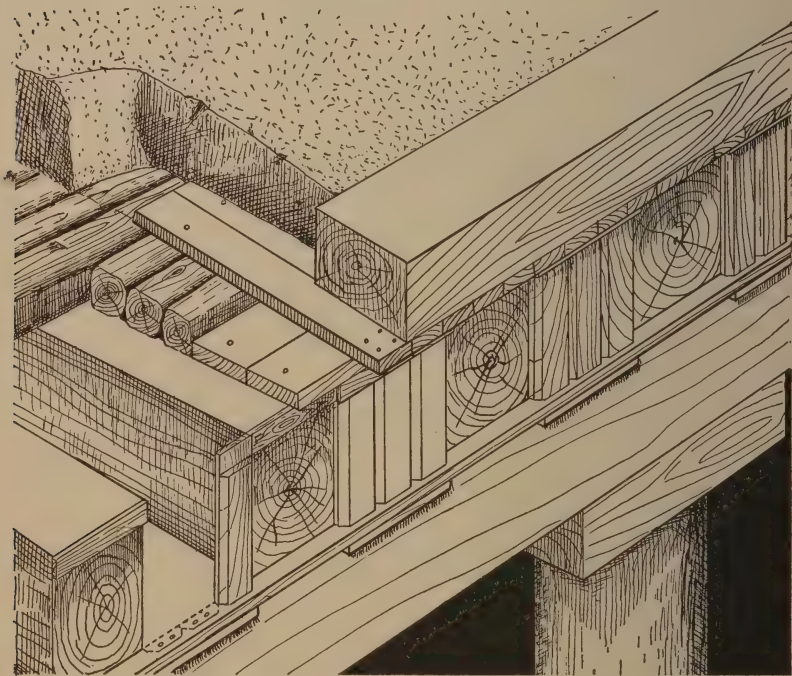


FIGURE 8.—ORIGIN OF THE DORIC FRIEZE: BEAM-ENDS AS METOPES.

the ceiling beams become metopes. Above the beams, and projecting slightly, is one of two or more narrow planks, the edge of which supplies the ground for a maeander band in later periods. Then comes a series of transverse pieces projecting sufficiently to protect the façade from the drip and tilted forward for the same purpose. The whole is surmounted by a heavy beam which runs along the edge of the roof and serves to keep in place the

¹ Holland's remarks (*l.c.* p. 147) on the difficulty of producing planks in antiquity seem to be thoroughly sound.

thick bed of clay at its back. To prevent this ridge beam from being crowded out of place it is pegged securely from below, the heads of the pegs being the prototype of the historic guttae, just as the planks through which the pegs pass reappear as mutules. To fill the spaces between the ceiling beams the builder employed for each space three pieces of wood with chamfered edges, forming the triglyph. The triglyph is no longer a useless covering for the beam end, but even in its details it shows a constructional purpose, for it is made in three pieces rather than in one in order to prevent its warping and because such pieces are far easier to produce than a single broad member would be. A notch at the top of each slab receives the decorative band, as is shown in the lower, left-hand example. This band may have originally passed across a similar band upon the metope, in which case the upper end of the triglyph slabs could easily be fastened to it. Just as simple a way would be to make the band for both triglyphs and metopes of a single, properly mortised, and continuous piece. The lower ends of the triglyph were fastened through the regulae and taenia from below, the heads of the pegs appearing as guttae. The reason for six of these beneath each triglyph is at once apparent.

Objection may be raised to the size of the ceiling beams in our conjectural restoration, and to one who is not familiar with the flat roof they do seem unreasonable. But when one realizes that such beams must sometimes carry twenty or twenty-five inches of clay, the necessity of strength begins to be realized. It will not do for those who believe in the triglyph as representing the end of the ceiling beam to raise this objection, however, since it is a disputed question whether metope or triglyph was wider in the primitive building, the evidence inclining even toward the triglyph, for as one traces proportions of triglyph and metope backward from the fourth century temple in Epidaurus to the sixth century temple D in Selinus he finds them change from 11:16 to 14:16. How much farther need one go to find them equal? Holland (*l.c.* p. 146) deduces the width of the triglyphs in the Heraeum to have been 0.77 m. on centres of 1.50 m.,—that is to say they may have been even larger than the metopes. In the early vase paintings the two members appear of about equal width.

The changes required in adapting the entablature to stone were few and slight. Although in the earlier periods there was

no regularity in centring beam ends or "voids" above the columns, it now becomes the rule, for aesthetic and other reasons, to place the triglyph above columns and in the centres of intercolumniations. That exceptions were made is suggested by the vases and proved by the early round building in Delphi.² The triglyph was set back slightly and became somewhat narrower as time went on, for, with the abandonment of the triglyph and metope as constructional parts of the building, the architect was free to change their proportions, and this he would be led to do by the fact that, to the eye, the triglyph "picks up" the vertical lines of the column which were interrupted by the horizontal lines of the architrave. Now there are much larger spaces occupied by the intercolumniations than by the columns, and to match these proportions the metopes must be broadened at the expense of the triglyphs. It is not surprising that this change came, but that it came so slowly. The mutules also were spaced and their guttae increased in number, and, finally, the introduction of a pitched roof of tile gave a different appearance to the upper edge of the cornice.

The frieze was developed in our reconstruction on the façade of a *templum in antis*. Similar construction may have been employed along the sides of the cella, although it seems more likely that only the heads of the beams appeared there or a continuous sheathing of beam ends and spaces. It is known that in historic buildings of stone the ceiling beams always came at a higher level than the frieze. This was because the invention of roof tile and the introduction of the pitched roof made it possible to save material and labor by placing them on the wall rather than in it. The reason for this change has not heretofore been sufficiently emphasized.

The peripteral temple was probably a later development than the pitched roof; it need not have been much later, but that it came after it rather than before it is indicated by the negative evidence of its absence from Mycenaean construction, by the presence of a frieze in the pteron of peripteral temples, and by the difficulties of spacing the triglyphs with regard to the corner columns. Had the frieze been truly constructional in the peripteral building the inconsistencies of spacing, while just as marked, would not have been so keenly felt. The same argument may be used with regard to a flat-roofed building to indicate that the

² Laum, *Jb. Kl. Alt.* XXIX, 1912, p. 638, note 1.

frieze did not develop on all sides of the building at once but at most on but two opposite faces.

The difficulties of adapting the Doric frieze to peripteral temples ended with the general abandonment of the order in such buildings. Had the difficulties existed from the beginning, we may be sure that the type of frieze we know would not have come into being.

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PSEUDO-GOTHIC IVORIES IN THE HEARN COLLECTION

WERE it not for the fact that one of the ivories of the former Hearn Collection achieved publication in the last issue of the *JOURNAL* (pp. 428-433), this note would probably have never seen the light, but in view of the erroneous conclusions which might be drawn from such monuments when they are given character by publication, it may be useful to point out the dubious authenticity of this and other ivories in the collection which purport to be mediaeval originals.

I am sure that enough evidence was produced by the writer who published the ivory (Fig. 1) to convince most students of



FIGURE 1.—TRIPTYCH FROM THE HEARN COLLECTION: PROVIDENCE.

mediaeval art that it was not done in the Middle Ages. It was pointed out, for instance, that the reliefs were very unintelligent imitations of two well-known monuments of different dates,—the tympanum of the Virgin Portal of Notre Dame at Paris, and the choir reliefs of the same cathedral. I say unintelligent imitations, because the iconography is confused in a manner inconceivable on the part of a mediaeval copyist, who would scarcely have omitted two of the figures in the Appearance to the

Holy Women, or reduced the apostles to five in the Resurrection of the Virgin. And it is quite too much to ask us to suppose that a Gothic artist of the fourteenth century would have turned an *Incoronata* into God the Father, and would have added a beard to a candelabrum-bearing angel!

The ivory is suspicious on its face for the awkward *faire* of the architectural detail, the superficial incision of the draperies, the squat proportions of the figures, and the air of niggling hesitancy which pervades it as a whole. Something of the same unconvincing style and iconography can be found in its companion piece in the sale (No. 13 of the catalogue of 1908; No. 1002 of the sale catalogue), where we have a pair of Magi added to an already



FIGURE 2.—IVORY DIPTYCH: HEARN COLLECTION.

complete Epiphany in the central panel, and a wholly un-Gothic figure in the boy with a lamb in the lower panel of the right wing.

The ivory published in the *JOURNAL* is not the only one to copy well-known monuments. One or two of these imitations are noted in the catalogues, such as the “reduction” of the ivory panel in the British Museum representing the “Apotheosis of Marcus Aurelius” (Cat. 1908, No. 1; sale cat., No. 892). There is a very attractive, but hardly mediaeval, replica of one of the Virtues on Strassburg cathedral in the statuette listed as No. 924 in the sale catalogue (Cat. 1908, No. 34). The most amusing pasticcio in the collection is perhaps the diptych (Fig. 2; Cat. 1908, No. 14; sale cat., No. 1046), in which a complicated frame of no consistent style incloses four scenes, one of them a *Noli Me Tangere* with the Dove (!) descending from above, another an imitation of some Franco-Flemish Annunciation, and still

another an abbreviation to three figures of no less a composition than Raphael's Transfiguration. The diptych is ascribed in the catalogue to the fourteenth century!

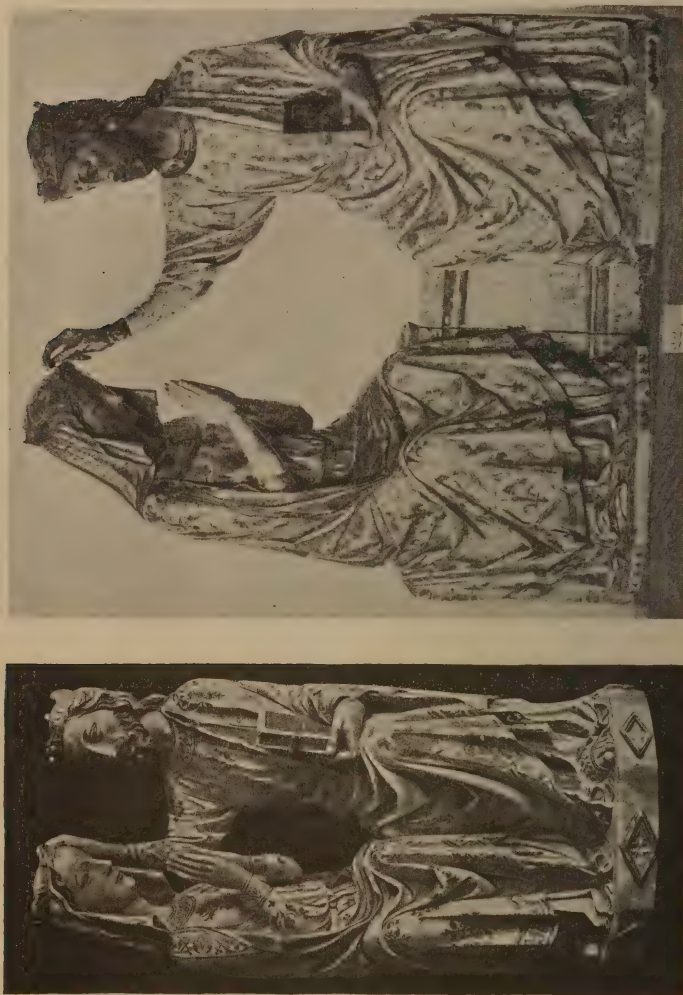


FIGURE 3.—CORONATION OF THE VIRGIN: A, HEARN COLLECTION; B, LOUVRE.

Several pieces in the collection may I think be ascribed to a single modern carver, who is perhaps the worst sculptor that ever desecrated ivory. He was a copyist pure and simple, and worked mainly in the Louvre and the Trocadéro, to judge from his models. His "Coronation of the Virgin" (Fig. 3, A; Cat. 1908,

No. 29b; sale cat., No. 953) reduces to a single piece the well-known ivory figures of the Louvre (Fig. 3, B), and purports to be of the "thirteenth century." Suspicion is aroused at once by the unusual preservation of the color in the ornaments on the robes, and this impression is not remedied by the evident lack



A



B

FIGURE 4.—VIRGIN AND CHILD: A, HEARN COLLECTION; B, VILLENEUVE-LÈS-AVIGNON.

of ease with which the workman tries to adapt his group to the dimensions of his block, or by the awkward postures and the impossible proportions. The same hand is evidently responsible for the imitation (Fig. 4, A; Cat. 1908, No. 29a; sale cat.,

No. 952) of the beautiful Virgin of Villeneuve-lès-Avignon (Fig. 4, B) which Molinier dates toward the end of the thirteenth century.¹ Its style is far more developed than that of the Louvre Coronation, but our copyist reflects little trace of the difference, mishandling the graceful rhythm of the later figure



A



B

FIGURE 5.—VIRGIN AND CHILD: A, HEARN COLLECTION; B, CHARTREUSE DE CHAMPMOL.

with the same *raideur* which marks his imitation of the Coronation, with whose Romanesque stiffness his own limitations have a faraway affinity. But he is no blind worshipper of the High Gothic; we find him next attacking a work of a hundred years later (Fig. 5, A; Cat. 1908, No. 29, c; sale cat., No. 996), and confining to his block in the same awkward manner the ample

¹Molinier: *Hist. des Arts appliqués: Ivoires*, p. 187.

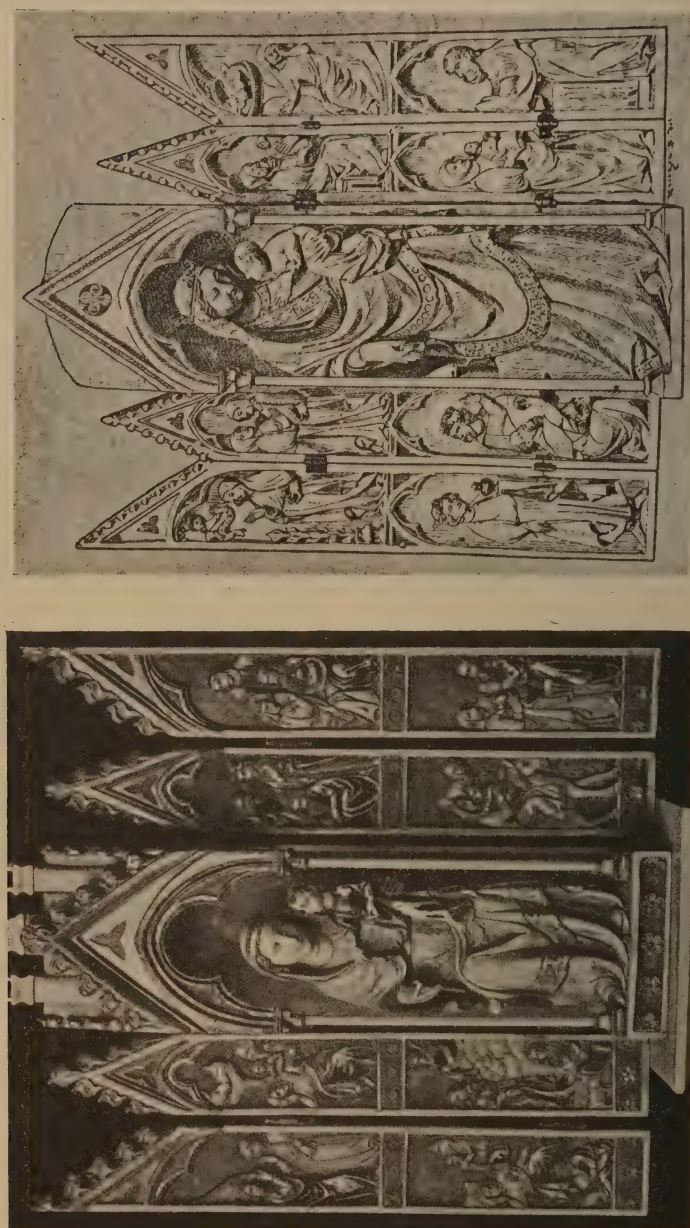
proportions of Jean de Marville's Madonna which stands over the portal of the Chartreuse de Champmol at Dijon (Fig. 5, B). To her he gives again the slit eyes, long neck, and sharp features which belong to the thirteenth century, and retains in the Child the stiffness with which he rendered Him in the copy of the Virgin of Villeneuve. One needs but to compare the lower profile and the creased neck of the Virgins in all three of his productions to see that the same hand is responsible for the ugliness of the head in every case. The Madonna of Dijon is dated in the closing years of the fourteenth century; if our sculptor were a real Gothic artist, he could have worked no earlier than 1400. Can one believe that an artist of the fifteenth century executed the Hearn Coronation and the copy of the Virgin of Villeneuve? The one essential feature of his style, if style it can be called, is timidity of handling; if we assume that he is a mediaeval workman, this characteristic would point to the thirteenth century, rather than a later date.

The reader will probably find such considerations rather academic, for one attributes with difficulty to a fifteenth century hand such impartial copying as this. It is quite in character with a modern imitator, however, and I think that our sculptor went even further afield in his search for models, since it seems to me very likely that we can hold him responsible for that awful parody on Bernini which appeared in the sale as "Apollo and Daphne" (Fig. 6; Cat. 1908, No. 155; sale cat., No. 847), and possibly also for the "Diana and Bacchus" (Cat. 1908, No. 165; sale cat., No. 1063).

I hesitate somewhat to add to the *œuvre* of our dubious genius the imposing polyptych (Fig. 7, A) figured in the sale catalogue



FIGURE 6.—APOLLO AND DAPHNE: HEARN COLLECTION.



A
FIGURE 7.—IVORY POLYPTYCH: A, HEARN COLLECTION; B, LOUVRE.

as No. 959 (Cat. 1908, No. 53), partly because I have not seen the original, which may bely the poor reproduction given in the catalogue, and partly because the general appearance of the polyptych is fairly good. But even from the reproduction one gets a distinct impression that the Child in the central panel is a replica of that in the copy of the Villeneuve Virgin; the pose of head, body, legs, and foot is almost exactly the same in each case, and the same formula is followed for the drapery. Similar folds are found in the lower drapery of both Madonnas, and the Virgin of the triptych seems to have the creased throat that appears as a mannerism of our copyist when he is engaged with Gothic models. Otherwise the polyptych seems to be drawn largely from a well-known example of the fourteenth century in the Louvre (Fig. 7, B)¹. From this our carver has taken four panels and reduced them to two, thus achieving a very crowded Nativity in the upper right panel of the left wing, and a similarly awkward Presentation in the lower right panel of the right wing. Left to his own resources in the other panels, he becomes quite un-Gothic in his iconography; in the left upper panel of the right wing the second Magus is uncrowned and does not conform in pose and gesture with the usual type, which requires that he should turn his face in profile to the Magus behind him, and that his arm should cross his body with the hand pointing upward. In the panel next to the right, what was apparently meant for a Coronation of the Virgin is upset by the introduction of a female figure. Elsewhere the subjects are incoherent, as in the two lower panels of the left wing. Lastly, assuming that the base (Fig. 8) belongs to the polyptych, the artist has used in the Pietà which adorns it a type that is a hundred years later than his style.

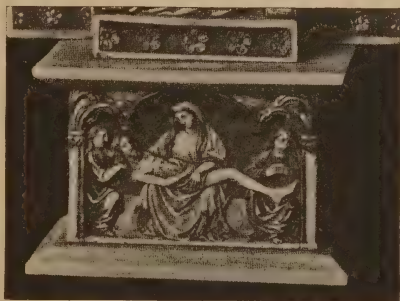


FIGURE 8.—PEDESTAL OF POLYPTYCH,
FIGURE 7, A.

I shall leave to others better versed than I in this regard the question of the paintings on the back of this polyptych. It

¹ *Musée du Louvre: Cat. des Ivoires* (Molinier), No. 66.

would be interesting, but hardly profitable, to investigate the other doubtful-looking ivories of the mediaeval section; as I have had to deal only with reproductions, and these other pieces are not so patently imitations, it has seemed best to limit this note to the ivories discussed above.

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CANTING PUNS ON ANCIENT MONUMENTS

PUNS are so predominantly verbal in their character that one is apt to forget that they may be pictorial as well, and hence make their appeal through the eye rather than the ear. Illustrated puns may still be seen on concrete remains of ancient life, such as coins, vases, benches, and gravestones. Literary sources inform us of the existence of still others on monuments which have long since perished. Such plays, which are restricted to the names of persons and places, may be aptly described by the heraldic term "canting."

An extremely clever use of this type of pun is recorded by Pliny, *H.N.* xxxvi, 42. When Saura and Batrachus, the architects of the Porticus Octaviae, were denied the privilege of commemorating their names in an inscription, they resorted to the subterfuge of carving on the columns a lizard (*σαύρα*) and a frog (*βάτραχος*). Among the many ancient columns preserved in the church of San Lorenzo outside the walls of Rome is one of the Ionic order on the volutes of which are sculptured a lizard and a frog. One writer believes that the *in spiris* of Pliny's description refers to volutes, and concludes that the column was the work of Saura and Batrachus.¹

Puns of this type are employed in miscellaneous ways. On a certain occasion Cicero made a votive offering of a silver cup. He had his praenomen and nomen inscribed in the usual fashion, but for his cognomen he substituted in repoussé an *ἐπέβινθος*, *i.e.*, a *cicer*.² In the Naples Museum there are three benches decorated with heads and hoofs of *vaccae*. Upon the benches is the inscription, M. NIGIDIUS VACCULA P. S.³ One is tempted to regard as an instance of the punning instinct the selection of Tyche by the sculptor Eutychides as a subject for his chisel.

On the central slab of the eastern frieze of the Parthenon is

¹ See Winckelmann, *Mon. Ant. Ined.* II, p. 269 and text.

² Plutarch, *Moralia*, p. 204 f. (*Apoph. Cic.* 2).

³ See *Il Real Museo Borbonico*, II, Pl. 54.

sculptured a priestess facing two attendants, each of whom bears on her head a four-legged stool or table. The attendants may, perhaps, be symbolic of a ritualistic *κόσμησις τῆς τραπέζης*, Miss Jane Harrison,¹ however, relying on Harpocration's explanation of the word *τραπέξοφος*² is inclined to call them *Τραπεζῶ* and *Κοσμῶ*, Table and Adornment.

Grave monuments, although they are the last place to look for intentional levity, afford a fine opportunity for illustrated puns. Many of the ancients had names derived from those of animals, and it happens naturally that most of the sculptured punning figures on graves are those of animals. The best known Roman example is the cippus of the *ensor aedificiorum*, T. Statilius Aper, now in the Capitoline Museum.³ At the feet of the deceased rests a boar. Two mice are represented on the tombstone of P. DECVMIVS M. P. V. L. PHILOMVSVS MVS (C.I.L. VI, 16771). In like manner a bull is depicted on the urn of a certain P. AELIVS AVG. LIB. TAVRVS.⁴

The most elaborate cippus is that of Tiberius Octavius Diadumenus in the Vatican. "The principal relief exhibits a decorative reproduction of the famous Diadumenos of Polycleitos, representing a youth binding a fillet round his head. The selection of this subject was probably dictated by the fact that the person to whom the tombstone was erected bore the cognomen of Diadumenos. The inscription AD PINVM, on the right side, and the pine-tree on the left side, indicate the region in which Diadumenos dwelt, a region named after a pine-tree to be found there."⁵

Beside Christian epitaphs, too, such puns are to be found. Upon the slab recording the name of Pontius Leo is cut the figure of a lion,⁶ on that of Porcella a pig,⁷ on that of the illiterate Nabira

¹ 'The Central Slab of the E. Parthenon Frieze,' *Cl. R.* III, p. 378.

² Δικοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας· ὅτι ἱεροσύνης ὄνομα ἐστὶν ἢ τραπέξοφος· ὅτι αὐτὴ τε καὶ ἡ Κοσμῶ συνδιέπουνσι πάντα τῇ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερείᾳ αὐτὸς τε ὁ ῥήτωρ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ λόγῳ δεδήλωκε καὶ Ἰστέος ἐν γ' τῶν Ἀττικῶν συναγωγῶν.

³ *Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino*, plate XV. For the inscription see C.I.L. VI, 1975, and Buecheler, *Anthol. Lat.* No. 441.

⁴ W. Altmann, *Die Römischen Grabaltäre der Kaiserzeit*, p. 244.

⁵ W. Helbig, *Guide to the Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome* (1895), I, p. 77. See C.I.L. VI, 10035.

⁶ Marucchi, *Epigrafia Cristiana*, Pl. V, fig. 2; Northcote, *Epitaphs of the Catacombs*, p. 156.

⁷ Northcote, *l.c.*

(i.e. Navira) a boat.¹ The dedication to Nabira is worth quoting, since it expressly states that the ship is her *signum*, her badge or emblem: NABIRA IN PACE ANIMA DVLCIS QVI BIXIT ANOS XVI. M. V. ANIMA MELEIEA TITVLV FACTV A PARENTES. SIGNVM NABE.

The Greeks were as fond of such sepulchral embellishments as were the Romans. A stele dedicated to Leon and representing a lion in relief is shown in Gardner, *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas*, p. 130. Simonides commemorated a lion reclining upon the grave of a man named Leon:

θηρῶν μὲν κάρτιστος ἐγὼ, θνατῶν δ' ὃν ἐγὼ νῦν
φρουρῶ τῷδε τάφῳ λαίνῳ ἐμβεβαῶς.
'Ἄλλ' εἰ μὴ θυμόν γε Λέων ἐμόν οὔνομά τ' εἶχεν,
οὐκ ἂν ἐγὼ τύμβῳ τῷδ' ἐπέθηκα πόδας.²

Some scholars would associate this epigram with the tomb of Leonidas of which Herodotus (VII, 225, 2) writes: ὁ δὲ κολωνός ἐστι ἐν τῇ ἐσόδῳ, ὅκου νῦν ὁ λίθινος λέων ἔστηκε ἐπὶ Λεωνίδῃ.

"A lioness without a tongue is said also to have stood on the tomb of Leaena, the Athenian courtesan who was a friend of Harmodius and Aristogeiton, and refused to betray the conspirators against the Tyrants."³ A heifer was placed upon the tomb of Boidion, concubine of Chares.⁴

At the death of Diodotus, the rhetorician, Metellus Pius, a pupil, set up in his honor a stone crow, κόραξ λίθινος, evidently an allusion to Corax, the founder of the art of rhetoric⁵.

On seals and signet rings also one might expect to find canting puns, since figures of animals are frequently engraved upon them. In the absence of the owner's name, however, it is impossible to prove in any particular instance that we have a canting pun. A ridiculous passage in Aristophanes (*Eq.* 951-4) is sufficient evidence as to "canting heraldry" on rings. Demus says: "It can't be that this ring is mine, since the device seems different, or can't I see?" On being asked what the device was, Δῆμος replied: δημοῦ βοείου θρίον ἐξωπτημένον.

In the case of coins the situation is different. Moneyers frequently placed upon them their *symboles parlants* or canting

¹ Northcote, *op. cit.*, p. 175.

² *Anthol. Pal.* VII, 344.

³ Gardner, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

⁴ *Anthol. Pal.* VII, 169.

⁵ Plutarch, *Moralia*, 205 a (*Apoph. Cic.* 7).

badges. Thus we see the hammer of C. Publicius Malleolus, the adze of L. Valerius Acisculus, the deformed foot of P. Furius Crassipes, the *squilla* of L. Licinius Squillus, the *todillus* of the gens *Todilia*, and the *musca* of the *Sempronia*, some of whom bore the cognomen *Musca*.¹ In the same way, at a later date, "Sir Martin Bowes, master of the mint under Henry VIII and Edward VI, sometimes placed a bow as a symbol on the coins for which he was responsible."²

Instances of canting types are very numerous. "These *types parlants*, to which the Romans were specially partial, and which the nature of the coinage favored, begin to show themselves at quite an early period, and they are fairly constant throughout the whole series even down to the time of the moneyers who served under Augustus. One of the earliest instances is that of L. Apuleius Saturninus, who depicts Saturn in a quadriga, L. Thorius Balbus gives a bull, C. Vibius Pansa, the mask of Pan, L. Lucretius Trio, a crescent moon, surrounded by seven stars (*septem triones*), L. Plaetorius Cestianus, an athlete holding a cestus, and Q. Pomponius Musa, representations of Hercules Musagetes and the nine Muses. Of those which occur at a later period may be mentioned the calf, *vitulus*, on the coins of Q. Voconius Vitulus and the flower on those of L. Aquillius Florus."³

There is an interesting coin of Julius Caesar representing an elephant trampling upon a dragon. One suspects that the beast is symbolic of Africa, but the coin is worth citing on account of a passage in Spartianus (*Ael. Ver.* II). He gives four etymologies of the word Caesar one of which is that it signified elephant in the language of the Mauri, and that it was bestowed as a surname upon one of the Julii who had killed an elephant.⁴

On the coins of the Greeks "speaking types" are apparently limited to names of places. The following list illustrates how they employed representations of animals and objects in general to suggest names:⁵ ἀγκυρα, Ancyra; ἀγκών (represented by a bent arm), Ancona; αἴξ, Aegae, Aegira, Aegosthena, Aegospotami; ἀλώπηξ, Alopeconnesus; Ἄρτεμις, Artemidorus; ἀστακός, Astacus;

¹ See *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, I, lxxxv.

² Macdonald, *Coin Types*, p. 237.

³ *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum*, I, xcii.

⁴ *Op. cit.* II, 390-1.

⁵ Some numismatists would attach a religious significance to a few of these examples.

κῆτος, Cetis; κριθή, Crithote; κυψέλη, Cypselā; λέων, Leontini; μέλιττα, Melitaea; μῆλον, Melos; Πάν (head of the god), Panti-capaeum; πρόξ, Proconnesus; ῥόδον, Rhodes; σίδη, Side; σφεινδόνη, Aspendus; ταῦρος, Tauromenium; τράπεζα, Trapezus; φάσηλος, Phaselis.¹ "At Laodicea in Phrygia the rivers Kapros and Lykos are represented by a boar and a wolf."²

Even canting arms, the *armoires parlants* of the French, were not unknown in antiquity. Professor Chase notes a cylix found at Corneto which shows a swan (κύκνος) as a device on a shield belonging to a warrior named Cynus. He is inclined to believe that we have here an echo of a common practice in the ornamentation of shields.³

Julius Caesar had a legion called by the Gallic name *Alauda*, which was composed of men from Transalpine Gaul.⁴ Pliny (XI, 121) informs us that the *alauda* was a crested lark. The *alauda* of the legionaries was a decoration placed, in all probability, upon the helmet.

What seems to be the clearest evidence that the Romans had *armoires parlants*⁵ in the strict sense of the expression is a passage in Suetonius (*Calig.* 35, 1), which states that Caligula took from the noblest families their time-honored insignia, from Torquatus the *torques*, and from Cincinnatus the *crines* (i.e. *cincinni*).

Among us a verbal pun upon a proper name is, to say the least, tactless. A pictorial pun is at times used as a trademark,⁶ or as an emblem,⁷ but on anything so formal as a gravestone would be entirely out of place, and is unthinkable upon the coinage of a

¹ This list was compiled from Head, *Historia Numorum* and Macdonald, *Coin Types*, p. 17-19.

² Macdonald, *op. cit.* p. 39.

³ G. H. Chase, 'The Shield Devices of the Greeks,' *Harvard Studies*, xiii, p. 90.

⁴ Suetonius, *Jul.* 24, 2; cf. Cicero, *ad Att.* XVI, 8, 2.

⁵ *Armoires parlants* are extremely common in heraldry since knights and prominent families and cities seemed to prefer for their arms an object whose name bore some resemblance to their own: e.g., the *colonna* of Colonna, the *orso* of Orsini, the *pignatte* of Pignatelli, the *lupo* of Lupicini, the *scala* of the Scaligers, the *fiore* of Fiorenza (Florence), the lion of Leon and Louvain, the pomegranate of Granada, the castle of Castile, the bear of Berne, the monk of Munich, the arondel (martlet) for the Duke of Arundel, three fountains for Wells, the whirlpool (*gorges*) for Gorges, the calf for Vele.

⁶ An instance that will occur to everybody is the bell of the Bell Telephone Company.

⁷ The banners of colleges frequently depict emblems suggested by their nicknames: e.g., Yale Bulldogs, Princeton Tigers, Rice Owls, Texas Longhorns, etc.

nation which recalled the Lincoln pennies inscribed with the initials of the designer. Among the ancients, however, the very frequency of these canting puns proves that they were in good taste, and no doubt the possessor of a name that could be so punned upon regarded himself fortunate.

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GENERAL MEETING OF THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA

DECEMBER 26-28, 1918

The Archaeological Institute of America held its twentieth meeting for the reading and discussion of papers at Columbia University, New York, December 26, 27, and 28, 1918, in conjunction with the American Philological Association and the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis. Three sessions for the reading of papers were held and there were two joint sessions with the American Philological Association. With one exception the abstracts which follow were furnished by the authors.

THURSDAY, DECEMBER 26. 3.00 P.M.

1. Mr. Jay Hambidge, of New York, *Principles of Greek Design as Illustrated by Pottery and Bronzes in America*.

The investigation of the principles of symmetry disclosed the fact that there are, in nature, two types of proportion which may be useful to design. These are termed dynamic and static. The latter, probably, is but a special case of the former, as the circle is a special case of the ellipse. The double classification, however, is analytically useful. Static symmetry is spontaneous, no design whatever being possible without its presence in some degree. It has been consciously used several times during history, books having been written upon the subject. It is observable in nature in crystals, radiolaria, certain flowers, cross-sections of seed pods, etc. The presence of this type in art is usually apparent by inspection.

Dynamic symmetry is based upon shell growth and the law of leaf distribution in plants. Its chief function seems to be the determination of the asymmetrical balance necessary to the inter-relation of elements in growth. It is a proportion of movement. This type produces a series of rectangles possessing curious and fascinating properties. If these rectangles are used intelligently in an artistic composition the result is a product of design possessing the qualities of a growing organism. After this type of symmetry had been worked out and the properties of the rectangles developed, it was found that classic Greek art and Egyptian art furnished the only products of design in which this symmetry appeared.

It would require too much space to discuss the situation in detail but it may be said that very early in Egyptian history an empirical method of land survey was developed. This rule of thumb method of measurement was later

used in temple construction and its presence is detected in the pictorial compositions of the bas-reliefs. Knowledge of this method of measurement was obtained by the Greeks sometime during the seventh or sixth century B.C. In Greece one aspect of the idea became highly developed and has come down to us as Euclidean Geometry. The other aspect was as highly developed artistically but was later lost. The evidence that this is roughly the situation is furnished by the history of geometrical development in Greece and the remains of classic art. For example: the ground plan of the Parthenon is a simple rectangle. If the width of this plan, overall, and not the top step or the middle step but everything including the levelling course, is divided into the total length, a ratio is obtained. This ratio is recognizable as belonging to dynamic symmetry. Moreover, the rectangle divides itself in such a manner that all the details of the plan, column and angle column spacing, cella arrangement, also the elevation of the building and all its details are simply and logically established. Other Greek ground plans corroborate this.

Further corroboration is furnished by Greek bronzes, pottery, and units of decoration. For two hundred or two hundred and fifty years it would seem that the designs of Greek pottery were laid out with the same care and in accordance with the same scheme as the plans of the temples. There exists overwhelming proof that this was so. So far over four hundred examples of good Greek pottery have been examined and the fact fixed that over ninety-five per cent. run true, *i.e.*, ninety-five per cent. of Greek pottery is as architectural as the best Greek buildings. Moreover, a fairly consistent history of the development of Greek design is being obtained from the numerous examples of pottery. Thanks to the alertness of Dr. L. D. Caskey of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts and Miss G. M. A. Richter of the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York, the labor of investigation has recently been much facilitated. Last summer Dr. Caskey began a personal investigation of the pottery in his care and found that the situation was as described. The Metropolitan Museum is now following Dr. Caskey's lead, using a checking system so that absolutely reliable material may be obtained. The results so far corroborate completely not only the writer's work but Dr. Caskey's labor as well.

2. Professor Paul V. C. Baur, of Yale University, *Some Black-Figured Vases in the Stoddard Collection, Yale University.*

In this paper four black-figured vases were discussed.

No. 111. A lecythus from Tarentum of Attic fabric dating from the end of the sixth century B.C. On the body is depicted the story of Admetus and the chariot drawn by four wild beasts, a lion, a panther, a boar, and probably a wolf. It is the earliest known representation of the subject.

No. 230. An amphora of coarse brown clay. On the obverse, a lion, on the reverse, a fallow deer. Clay and technique so closely resemble the Clazomenian sarcophagi that the writer is inclined to consider this vase a rare example of Clazomenian fabric, though Pharmakowski (*Arch. Anz.* 1912, pp. 334 f., fig. 21) calls this fabric late Milesian.

No. 231. An amphora with cover. This is a typical example of *Italo-Ionic* fabric of the sixth century B.C. On the obverse a triton-like monster swimming in water indicated by a wavy line and three fish is attacked by a nude,

bearded man, perhaps Heracles. On the reverse a deer is attacked from either side by a wolf or jackal in a thicket. At this early period wolves are rarely depicted in Greek art.

No. 232. An amphora of genuine Ionic workmanship. Encircling the body are athletic contests, a boxing-match, and a warrior, with loin-cloth, shield, and crested helmet, hurling a spear at a target. Two examples of this rare fabric are in the Metropolitan Museum, New York; elsewhere the writer knows of no other vases of this style.

3. Miss G. M. A. Richter, of the Metropolitan Museum, New York, *Notes on the Technique of Greek Vases*.

The first part of this paper discussed the theory of the addition of red ochre to Athenian clay to deepen the color. Practical experiments have shown that the addition of ochre to the clay did not have the desired result, but that the effect could be obtained by subjecting the vases to a higher temperature. Pliny's and Suidas's accounts, therefore, of the addition of ochre must refer to the red wash spread, after firing, over the surface of Athenian vases. In the second part of the paper the endeavor was made to show that Athenian vases were manufactured for practical use, and to disprove the arguments advanced at various times against this view. Finally, in support of the theory recently proposed by Mr. Jay Hambidge that Athenian pottery was designed on certain geometrical principles, stress was again laid on the fact that these vases were "jiggered" as well as "thrown," and could, therefore, be made to very exact measurements.

4. Dr. James M. Paton, of Cambridge, Massachusetts, *The Erechtheum as a Christian Church*.

It has long been agreed that the Erechtheum was at one time transformed into a Christian church and that this church had the typical form of a small basilica with narthex and apse. A close examination of the evidence makes possible a somewhat more detailed restoration. It seems probable that the nave and aisles were separated by low walls on which stood columns, and that the intercolumniations were filled by slabs which at the same time provided a barrier to communication and a back for the seat in the nave formed by the low wall. The remaining slab of the iconostasis bears a geometric decoration which finds its best parallels in such buildings as Santa Sophia at Constantinople, San Vitale and Sant' Apollinare at Ravenna, and St. Demetrius at Salonica. The crude execution, however, indicates that this slab is later than these churches, probably belonging to the late sixth or even the seventh century. It is by no means impossible that the little basilica represents a second stage in the destruction of the Greek temple, and that the first stage was its transformation into a simple "hall church" or perhaps a secular building.

5. Miss Ida C. Thallon, of Vassar College, *Some Balkan and Danubian Connections of Troy*.

As early as the neolithic period there existed in the Near East four culture areas: (1) Aegean, (2) Thessalian, (3) Upper Balkan and Danubian, (4) South

Russian and allied. The fourth, which is distinguished by polychrome painted pottery with spiral motives, included the Dnieper and Dniester valleys and the districts drained by the northern tributaries of the Danube as far as Austria, and was separated from the Aegean area by the broad diagonal line of the Balkan-Danubian group which extended from Bosnia to Troy and beyond. The third area came into contact with the fourth in Bulgaria, but with the first only sporadically and very late in the Bronze Age. Although both rectilinear and spiral motives characterize this group the painted technique is practically non-existent, and a close family resemblance can be traced from Bosnia through Serbia and southern Bulgaria into Troy and past there via Yortan, southern Pisidia, and Lycia even to Cyprus. The archaeological connections between Troy and the Balkan-Danubian district coincide with Homer's statements about the Thracian and Paeonian allies of the Trojans who came from the valleys of the Hebrus (Maritza), Strymon, and Axios (Vardar). Connection with the Danube was by way of the Morava where plentiful remains exist in Serbia, and down the rivers mentioned. The Trojan allies came from the districts to the north of those inhabited by the Greeks who had by that time encountered the declining Mycenaean civilization and were influenced by it to a far greater degree than the inhabitants of Troy, where only the sixth city affords remains of Mycenaean culture. Her connections lie rather with Anatolia and very particularly with the Balkan-Danubian area from neolithic times (Troy I and II) until the Early Iron Age (Troy VII). Dr. Leaf has demonstrated the importance of the control of the Dardanelles in the greatness of Troy and the strategic point of Salonica appears also to have been within her sphere of influence.

6. Mr. William Gates, of Baltimore, *Study in the Mayence Languages*.

No abstract of this paper was received.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27. 9.30 A.M.

1. Mrs. Florence Paul Berger, of the Wadsworth Athenaeum, Hartford, *The Bennington Pottery and the Early Red Ware of New England*.

To the late Albert Hastings Pitkin, whose collection of Bennington and Red Ware has recently been presented to the Morgan Memorial in Hartford by Mrs. Pitkin, we owe much interesting and valuable information regarding pottery making in New England from the end of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century. This information he had gathered during many years of collecting with the intention of eventually publishing it. He was prevented from doing this by his sudden death last year; but Mrs. Pitkin has since then edited and published his notes, adding lists of the Bennington and Red Ware, with marks and numerous illustrations.

The records of early pottery-making in the colonies are very meagre, yet there is no doubt that bricks, roof tiles, and common household pots were made from the early part of the seventeenth century. Late in the seventeenth century the Pennsylvania Germans began the redware industry in the neigh-

borhood of Philadelphia, but the earliest piece that bears a date was made in 1733. In the latter half of the eighteenth century small potteries sprang up in Maine, Massachusetts, Vermont, and at Hartford, Norwalk, Norwich, and other towns in Connecticut. Both stoneware and redware were made, usually in the form of jars, jugs, pitchers, and plates. Seth Goodwin, Thomas O'Hara Goodwin, Goodwin and Webster, and Daniel Goodale are some of the names connected with Hartford.

At Bennington, Vermont, Captain John Norton of Goshen, Connecticut, was a pioneer potter, starting his salt glazed stoneware business in 1793. His son, Judge Luman Norton, succeeded him and introduced Rockingham in more ornamental forms. When Christopher Webb Fenton entered the firm about 1839, he brought with him a practical and technical knowledge of the industry which resulted in still finer products,—the Parian, cream ware, scrodled, and the brilliantly glazed and colored flint enamelled ware for which Bennington is perhaps best known.

2. Professor Fiske Kimball, of the University of Michigan, *The Beginnings of Sculpture in Colonial America.*

Protestantism and pioneer conditions restricted sculpture in Colonial America even more than the other arts, and until the eve of the Revolution works of sculpture here were almost entirely imported. The first to come (1728 ff.) were casts and copies of antique works, imported by artists for models, and later by Southern planters for decorative use. Original works first appeared (ca. 1750) in connection with marble mural monuments ordered from England by wealthy members of the Anglican church. The first statues commissioned as public monuments were those of Pitt in New York and Charleston, and the equestrian figure of George III in New York, all authorized in 1766, executed by Joseph Wilton in London, and set up in 1770. Closely following was the statue of Governor Berkeley at Williamsburg, Virginia, voted in 1771, carved in London by Richard Hayward, and erected in 1773. All these illustrate the various successive phases of contemporary British sculpture, from the record of classicism. The earliest native sculptor, Mrs. Patience Wright of Bordentown, New Jersey, executed portraits in wax for some years prior to her removal to London in 1772. Her marble bust of Thomas Penn, sent from London to Philadelphia in 1773, may stand as the earliest extant work of an American sculptor.

3. Professor Charles R. Morey, of Princeton University, *Two So-called Early Christian Monuments.*

This paper will be published later in the JOURNAL.

4. Dr. John Shapley, of Brown University, *Problems of Gothic Form.*

The appearance of Wilhelm Worringer's book, *Problems of Gothic Form*, challenges the validity of many current ideas in art history, art theory, and art practice. This paper offered an extension and application of the viewpoints it expresses and carried its arguments to their logical conclusion.

5. Mr. Leicester B. Holland, of the University of Pennsylvania, *The Transformation of the Classical Pediment in Romanesque Architecture*.

This paper will be published in full in a later number of the JOURNAL.

6. Professor Allan Marquand, of Princeton University, *The Decoration of the Ceppo Hospital at Pistoia*.

Recent investigations by Mr. Rufus G. Mather, of the Ceppo Hospital archives throw much needed light on the authorship of the hospital decorations. To Benedetto Buglioni may now be definitely attributed the Coronation lunette (1510) over the entrance of the old building; also a coat of arms of the hospital on the right short side of the frieze. To Giovanni della Robbia belongs the series of medallions in the spandrels of the arches of the portico (1525-1529). The frieze representing the Seven Corporal Works of Mercy was entrusted to Santi Buglioni (1527-1529). He accomplished six of the panels; the seventh, possibly correctly attributed to Filippo di Lorenzo Baladini, was executed in stucco in 1585.

FRIDAY, DECEMBER 27. 8 P.M.

Joint Session with the American Philological Association.

1. Professor Howard Crosby Butler, of Princeton University, *The Future Protection of the Historical Monuments of Nearer Asia*.

Professor Butler pointed out the great need of protection for the important remains of antiquity still existing between the Tigris and the Aegean, but likely to be destroyed as a result of changed political conditions. He urged the "internationalization" of all historic monuments with an international commission having power to make all necessary regulations in control. The need for immediate action was emphasized.

2. Professor Charles Upson Clark, of the American Academy, Rome, *Some Art Treasures of Redeemed Italy*.

No abstract of this paper was received.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 28. 9.30 A.M.

1. Dr. Margaret C. Waites, of Mount Holyoke College, *The Nature of the Lares and their Representation in Roman Art*.

This paper will be published in a later number of the JOURNAL.

2. Professor O. M. Washburn, of the University of California, *The Origin of the Triglyph Frieze*. (Read by Dr. J. M. Paton.)

This paper is published in this number of the JOURNAL (pp. 33ff.)

3. Mr. W. H. Goodyear, of the Brooklyn Museum, *Architectural Refinements in Mediaeval French Cathedrals as Related to the Question of Repairs or Restoration in the War Zone.*

In 1895 the Trustees of the Brooklyn Institute Museum organized a research and investigation as to the use of architectural refinements in mediaeval cathedrals. As the result of various expeditions to Italy, Northern Europe, and Constantinople, many observations have been made, and much evidence has been collected on the subject. The evidence is in the shape of seventy measured surveys, and over eight hundred enlarged photographs, most of which represent original observations. Selections from this collection were shown at Rome in 1904, at Edinburgh in 1905 and in Dublin in 1914. The purpose of this paper is to call attention to such refinements as have been discovered by the Brooklyn Museum research in the French cathedrals in the war zone, with reference to the question of the repairs and restorations which may be planned, debated or undertaken in the immediate future.

The most widely diffused refinement in French cathedrals is a system of delicately widening the nave in the upward direction. A cross-section of the nave thus resembles a delicately attenuated horseshoe form. The construction sometimes slopes the piers outward from the pavement up, as in Rouen Cathedral, and the crossing piers of Notre-Dame. Sometimes the piers are perpendicular and the outward slope begins at the arcade capitals. This arrangement is found at Rheims and at Amiens, and has the optical effect of vertical curvature. Sometimes the piers diverge outward in delicate curves beginning near the bases, as in the Cathedral of Noyon. The total amounts of divergence at the height of the clerestory when compared with the distance between piers at the bases are inconspicuous in fact and in effect, but greater than might be supposed when the habitual oversight of the facts by antiquarians and experts, as well as by casual visitors and spectators, is considered. The total maximum divergence at Noyon is about 8 inches. In Rouen Cathedral it is about 24 inches, and it is about the same at Rheims. At Amiens it is about 20 inches. Approximately the same divergence occurs in the crossing piers of Notre-Dame. The habitual oversight of the arrangement mentioned is largely due to the convergence of vertical perspective, and partly due in many cases to the delicate vertical curvatures, or bends having the effect of delicate curvature, by which the total divergence is obtained.

An even more delicate refinement of the same description is usually found in the side aisles where the widening effect is confined to the exterior sides. At Amiens the aisle responds of the chapel walls have an outward curvature of only 3 inches deflection in a height of 40 feet. The facts here are only discoverable by plumb-line sighting, and cannot be verified by the unassisted eye. This, in fact, is also generally true in the naves. Still more remarkable is the expansion of the nave system into the transepts where the verticals of the piers and window mullions are inclined in parallels to those of the nave. The purpose of this subtle arrangement is doubtless to avoid the contrast of perpendiculars in the transepts with the inclined verticals in the nave, which would make the latter conspicuous. This arrangement is found in Rouen Cathedral, in Amiens Cathedral, at St. Quentin, and elsewhere. Finally there is a crowning complexity of subtlety which gives the same transepts an

independent transverse system of widening similar to that of the nave, and crossing the nave system. This is found at Amiens, at St. Quentin, and in the crossing piers, at least, of Notre-Dame.

The paper otherwise dealt in detail by illustrative views with the problems and difficulties of repairs and restoration of such refinements. Above all it was insisted that a wide knowledge of the facts described is an essential preliminary to any general activity of restoration.

The system described in France originated in Byzantine architecture of the sixth century, as is shown by Santa Sophia and other churches in Constantinople. It spread to Italy, and thence to Northern Europe. Various examples were cited in Great Britain. Among these were Canterbury Cathedral, the Temple Church in London, Lichfield Cathedral, and St. Patrick's in Dublin.

4. Professor Norman W. DeWitt, of Victoria College, Toronto, *The Origin of the Roman Forum.*

It is customary to explain the beginnings of Rome by its fortunate situation and the Forum as a casual evolution from a central location among surrounding settlements, an explanation which fails to account for the Temple of Janus and the religious character of the Janus entrance. As Ovid, *Fasti* I, 257, inquires:

*Cum tot sint Iani, cur stas sacratus in uno,
Hic ubi iuncta foris templa duobus habes?*

In other words, to explain the Forum we must explain Janus. Warde Fowler in *Roman Festivals*, pp. 286 ff., thinks Janus the guardian of the doorway but Janus is older than the Roman town house. He is the guardian of the gateway of the walled compound that surrounded the Roman villa. Varro, *R.R.* I, 13, 2: *Vilici proximum ianuam cellam esse oportet eumque scire qui introeat aut exeat noctu quidve ferat.* Janus has a religious character because he guards private property. The Janus entrance of the Forum had a religious character. Therefore the Forum was once private property. If it was private property it must have been the courtyard of the royal residence. Numerous traditions place the site of Numa's residence at the end of the Forum and the residences of other kings on the Velia, which is suitably situated to look on the Forum as a courtyard. The *Rex* was the priest of Janus. The Forum was a royal mart. The ship's beak on coins meant foreign commerce. It was a king who built the shops, and paved and drained the Forum. Market fees may have been collected at the Janus gate. Hence the money changers. Before the temple of Saturn was built the temple of Janus must have contained the war treasure. Hence the bolts and bars and the opening in time of war. As at the rape of the Sabine women, games were instituted to attract crowds. So the numerous shows and sacrifices would bring customers. The fattest sheep was sacrificed every market day to attract the farmers (Festus, Müller, 186). The early Romans, led by the king, believed in advertising.

5. Mrs. Phila C. Nye, of Princeton, *The Oblong Ivory Caskets of the Byzantine Period.*

This paper will be published in a later number of the JOURNAL.

The following abstracts of papers announced, but not read have been received.

1. Miss Helen McClees, of Columbia University, *Notes on Women in Attic Inscriptions.*

From the inscriptions we find that women were employed as wool-workers, laundresses, children's nurses, hucksters, vendors of hemp, perfumes, sesame, salt, and *himatia*. One cobbler is known, and two physicians. A woman furnished to the state caps for public slaves and another reeds for repairing a roof. Women held office as priestesses in about forty cults, including those of three male divinities. Women and girls of noble family also served as *Arrhephori*, "initiates from the altar" at Eleusis, basket-bearers, and workers of the peplos for the Panathenaea. Women of the lower classes were often engaged in the service of Eastern divinities. Large numbers of dedications, especially to goddesses and to the gods of healing, were made by women, and they also contributed to public works. Public honors in the form of honorary decrees, golden crowns, and seats in the theatre were awarded to women. A decree of the Erechtheid tribe in favor of an *ἐπικληρος* whose father was a member of the tribe directs the *ἐπιμεληταί* to take her interests in charge and prevent her from being wronged when making purchases. The *Tabellae Defixionum* furnish curious information concerning the superstitions and also the every-day life of women of the lower classes.

2. Miss Georgiana Goddard King, of Bryn Mawr College, *Notes on the Portals of Santiago de Compostella.*

I. Aymery Picaud's account written about 1140 describes the three doors as they were finished: that of the western is less closely observed than the others and mentions no tympanum. It seems likely, recalling the steep street that led up, and the internal staircases of which traces exist, that this was like the west door of Le Puy, with which Santiago had frequent relations.

II. Comparison of photographs shows a striking likeness between the South Transept door of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and that at Santiago (the only one surviving). No door in the south of France comes quite so near, though certain details are oriental, as would be expected. The carving of the few old capitals within shows likeness to Spanish Romanesque. Of the original flanking chapels, one is dedicated to S. James. The Spanish part in the crusade, and the Spanish element here, have been overlooked through ignorance. On the south façade at Santiago stands S. James between cypress trees, says Aymery. They are wreathed with vines. Figure and flanking trees are copied at Toulouse. I know only one other case: on the back of the Harbaville Triptych cypresses wreathed with vine and ivy bow down to the Cross. There the cypresses are probably both trees of death and also symbols of the Mysteries. In the gold plates which constitute an Orphic Guide of the soul after death, the cypress stands beside the House of Hades. Compostella was a place of pilgrimage for dead souls and a gathering place for souls. S. James is here in his chthonic aspect.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS¹

NOTES ON RECENT EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES; OTHER NEWS

WILLIAM N. BATES, *Editor*

220, St. Mark's Square, Philadelphia, Pa.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

HAL-TARXIEN.—The Excavations of 1916-1917.—In *Archaeologia*, LXVIII, 1916-1917, pp. 263-284 (11 pls.; 22 figs.) T. ZAMMIT reports upon the excavations conducted on the site of the neolithic sanctuary at Hal-Tarxien, Malta, during the year 1916-1917 (see *A.J.A.* XXI, 1917, pp. 339 f.). The approach to the building was cleared and the limits of the ruins to the south and southwest determined. At the main entrance a fine slab with a convex edge served as a doorstep, and on each side of it large stone blocks supported the outer wall and were also probably used as seats for the worshippers. To the west of the main entrance a wide apse was excavated, and beyond that to the north a room with an elaborate altar. The northern end of the main entrance was completely cleared. There is abundant evidence to show that the whole edifice underwent a reconstruction. The northern portion is older than the southern. It is "massive, rude, severe, simpler in its elements and more compact and imposing." The ornaments are fewer, but executed with a firmer hand, the blocks heavier and placed with greater accuracy and the apses wider and better designed. In the southern part the apses are not accurately designed, and the ornaments are elaborate and more varied but lack the firmer lines of the older type. The entrance to the first apses of the older building is very imposing, and consists of broad, vertical slabs standing on a large flagstone which serves as a threshold. The passage is 17 ft. 6 in. long, and on each side at its inner end a monolith stands on a plinth. Beyond is an oval area 46 ft. long carefully paved with large stones. In the centre is a large stone basin 3 ft. 8 in. in diameter in which a fire was probably kept burning. Two other similar, but smaller oval areas lie side by side to the north, and in the outer one is another fire basin. The excavations are far from complete. To the northeast numerous upright stones are projecting from

¹ The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor BATES, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor C. N. BROWN, Miss MARY H. BUCKINGHAM, Dr. T. A. BUENGER, Dr. L. D. CASKEY, Professor HAROLD R. HASTINGS, Professor ELMER T. MERRILL, Professor LEWIS B. PATON, Professor A. S. PEASE, Professor S. B. PLATNER, Professor JOHN C. ROLFE, Dr. JOHN SHAPLEY, Professor ARTHUR L. WHEELER and the Editors, especially Professor MARQUAND.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after December 31, 1918.

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see pp. 99-100.

the soil, and in that direction and to the east other oval spaces will probably be brought to light. Many carved stones, especially blocks with spirals were discovered. In the older specimens the spirals are simple and their surface is flat, while in those of later date the surface is convex and the spirals more complicated. Neolithic grinders, mortars, hammer-stones, and stone vessels were unearthed, besides statuettes of stone and of clay, baked and unbaked. Some of these apparently represent priests. Neolithic potsherds were found in abundance although complete vases were few. They show great skill on the part of the makers. Incised designs were filled in with red, and wide bands of red ochre, still partly preserved on the fragments, were sometimes applied to the body of the vase.

NECROLOGY.—**Oric Bates.**—On October 8, 1918 Oric Bates died of pneumonia at Camp Zachary Taylor, Louisville, Kentucky. He was born December 5, 1883, graduated from Harvard College in 1905, and later studied at the University of Berlin. He took part with Professor Reisner in the excavations conducted by Harvard University and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts in Egypt, and in other archaeological work. He was the author of *The Eastern Libyans*. He was Curator of African Archaeology and Ethnology at the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, at the time when he entered the service of the government. (*B. Mus. F. A.* XVI, 1918, opp. p. 80; *Harvard Alumni Bulletin*, XXI, 1918, p. 76.)

Léon Henri Louis Bérard.—Captain Léon-Henri-Louis Bérard, born in 1883, was killed in a bombardment January 9, 1918. He had carried on important researches in Gallic archaeology, especially in Champagne. (*S. R.*, *R. Arch.* VII, 1918, p. 182.)

Emmanuel Édouard Chavannes.—The orientalist Emmanuel Édouard Chavannes, a distinguished scholar and author of numerous monographs and articles, chiefly on Chinese and Indian subjects, may almost be said to have founded the science of Chinese archaeology. Born in 1865, he died January 30, 1918. (*S. R.*, *R. Arch.* VII, 1918, pp. 179 f.)

J. de Closmadeuc.—The veteran archaeologist of Brittany, Dr. J. de Closmadeuc, was born in 1828 and died in May, 1918. His articles and monographs on the archaeology of Brittany are many and valuable. He was admirable as a scholar, a physician, and a man. (*S. REINACH*, *R. Arch.* VII, 1918, pp. 304 f.)

Vidal de la Blache.—The geographer Vidal de la Blache, born in 1845, died early in 1918. He became a member of the École d'Athènes in 1867 and made fruitful investigations in Asia Minor and Syria, but his chief activity was in the field of geography. (*S. R.*, *R. Arch.* VII, 1918, p. 180.)

Friedrich Hauser.—In *Atene e Roma*, XXI, 1918, pp. 164–165 C. ALBIZZATI publishes an appreciative notice of the late Dr. Friedrich Hauser.

Paul Leprieux.—The Conservateur de la peinture at the Louvre, Paul Leprieux, died May 17, 1918, at the age of 58 years. Numerous articles, from 1887 to 1917, testify to his rare feeling for the quality of works of art and the personality of their authors. (*S. R.*, *R. Arch.* VII, 1918, pp. 305 f.; bibliography by CLOTILDE MISME, pp. 305–309.)

Paul Milliet.—Paul Milliet (March 6, 1844—January 8, 1918) was as a painter a convinced traditionalist, but was attached to most radical and even revolutionary social reforms. In 1891 his thesis on the *Premières Périodes de*

la Céramique grecque (Giraudon) appeared; in 1889-1890 his photographic album of the vases in the Bibliothèque Nationale (Giraudon); in 1892 he published his *Catalogue des Vases antiques des Collections de la Ville de Genève*; he was among the benefactors of the Louvre and of the Association des Études grecques, to which he gave a sum of money for the publication, with translation, of all passages of ancient authors relating to works of art, a work which is not yet finished. He left nearly all his fortune to the Louvre. (E. POTTIER, *R. Arch.* VII, 1918, pp. 309 f.)

Luigi Savignoni.—The archaeologist, Luigi Savignoni, died March 14, 1918. He was born at Montefiascone August 20, 1864, and studied in Rome and in Athens. From 1895 to 1901 he was inspector in the Amministrazione delle Antichità e Belle Arti at Rome and at Naples. In 1901 he became professor of archaeology at Messina where he remained until the great earthquake. Since 1914 he has been professor in the R. Istituto di Studi Superiori at Florence. He took part with Halbherr in the exploration of Crete (see his article on Cretan pithoi in *A. J. A. V.*, 1901, pp. 404 ff.), and from 1901 to 1904 excavated Norba in Etruria. He published many papers on his excavations and explorations, upon Greek and Roman sculpture and vases, Etruscan antiquities, etc. (L. PERNIER, *Atene e Roma*, XXI, 1918, pp. 115-130; portrait; also *Cron. B. A. V.*, 1918, pp. 39 f.)

EGYPT

EXCAVATIONS OF THE METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.—During the year 1916-1917 the expedition of the Metropolitan Museum of New York to Egypt continued its excavations at Lisht and at Thebes. At Lisht work was carried on in the area adjacent to the pyramid of Sesostris where it was discontinued in 1914. The ground between the pyramid temple and the south-east corner was cleared. The two enclosure walls of the royal monument and a smaller ruined pyramid inside the inner enclosure were uncovered. At Thebes excavations were continued on the site of the palace of Amenhotep III north of the sections previously cleared. Near the northern limit of the area an enclosure 110 by 185 m. contained the palace chapel dedicated to Amon and here also was the Festival Hall of Amenhotep's second jubilee in the thirty-fourth year of his reign, as inscriptions prove. Some of the decorative features of the building have been recovered. During the winter of 1917-1918 the section west of the residential building was excavated and found to have been occupied by makers of glass and faience. (A. M. LYTHGOE, *B. Metr. Mus.* Supplement, March, 1918, pp. 3-8; 2 figs.). *Ibid.* pp. 8-14 (8 figs.) A. LANSING describes the excavation of the Festival Hall. Numerous inscribed potsherds refer to the jubilee. The chapel lies in the middle of the building (Fig. 1). The main entrance was provided with an antechamber with mud-brick benches on either side. From this one passed to the first hypostyle hall the roof of which was supported by six columns. A doorway at the west end of this room led to a second hypostyle hall with four columns. The ceiling in these two halls had a blue background with yellow stars in it. Beyond this room, on a higher level, were three rooms, the central one reached by a flight of seven

steps and the other two by four steps. These were probably sanctuaries. North and south were storerooms in which were found fragments of alabaster vases which had been deliberately destroyed. In the southeast corner of the large fore-court are remains of some rooms where the priests may have lived. Beyond the court to the southeast are remains of a villa. *Ibid.* pp. 14-24 (24 figs.) N. DE G. DAVIES reports for the de Peyster Tytus Memorial Fund that the season of 1916-1917 was largely spent in work on the tombs of Puyemrê (which is almost ready for publication) and Kenamon (Tomb No. 93). The paintings in the latter tomb are among the finest in Egypt. Attention is

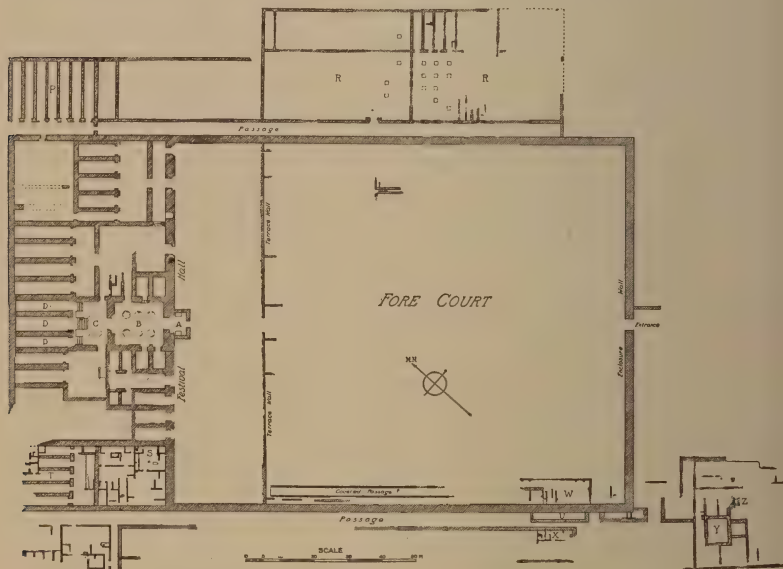


FIGURE 1.—THE FESTIVAL HALL OF AMENHOTEP III.

called especially to the figures of animals. During the work at Thebes a fragment came to light with the figure of the highest local official of the sixth dynasty. The inscription, which is important for the early history of Thebes, reads "the viceregent, governor of the South, controller of the state granaries, Unasonkh."

NURI.—*The Excavation of the Pyramids.*—In *B. Mus. F. A.* XVI, 1918, pp. 67-82 (36 figs.) G. A. R(EISNER) gives a general account of his excavation of the pyramids of Nuri. The largest of all, which is 52 m. square and surrounded by small pyramids 7 to 12 m. square, proved to be the tomb of Tirhaqa mentioned in *II Kings*, 19. Within it had a great central hall divided into three aisles by two lines of rectangular pillars. In front of this hall was an antechamber approached by a flight of four steps leading from the bottom of the great entrance stairway. A corridor surrounded this great hall. The floors of the two side aisles were covered with over a thousand beautifully

carved stone figures, 18 to 64 cm. high, of which about 600 were in good condition. Nineteen pyramids were found to be tombs of Ethiopian kings, the names of some of whom were previously unknown. Fifty-three tombs of queens and princesses were opened. All of the pyramids of Nuri were of the slender type, 68° to the horizontal. Each stood in a small enclosure bounded by a low wall and had a chapel for offerings consisting of a single room. The cemetery seems to have been ransacked by thieves about 300 to 250 B.C., but many objects of value were left behind (Fig. 2). The tombs of all the kings and queens who lived after Tirhaqa, except the four buried at Kurru, were excavated at Nuri. All of the twenty kings were identified by inscriptions and likewise twenty-five royal ladies. The pyramids may be divided chronologically into four groups, and foundation deposits were discovered under the four corners of most of them. The contents of these deposits varied with the date. In addition to the skull and fore-quarter of a sacrificed calf there were pottery vessels, or models of vessels, stone implements, and, in some cases, inscribed cups of faience. There were also many tablets, inscribed with the king's name, of gold, electrum, silver, bronze, faience, red jasper, lapis lazuli, alabaster, and malachite. As a result of these excavations it is now possible to reconstruct an outline of the history of Ethiopia from about 650 to 250 B.C., a period previously entirely unknown.



FIGURE 2.—GOLD VASE FROM NURI.

GREECE

SALONICA.—Work of the Service Archéologique of the French Army.—

The French army has been maintaining its traditional interest in scientific work by explorations in Macedonia. MM. Thureau-Dangin and Rey have methodically mapped the various tumuli within the sector occupied by the French and have excavated several. These mounds are of two types: 1, the round tumulus, which may be either an old village site or a burial mound; and 2, the table-shaped mound. The origin of the latter type has yet to be determined. The tumuli which represent village sites may be distinguished from the funeral mounds by the presence of numerous potsherds on their sides. Two of the former, the mounds of Gona and Sédès, near Salonica, have been explored and the relative dates of their different strata from neolithic times determined. The funeral mounds apparently all date from Hellenistic times. One which was opened had a tomb-chamber adorned with a Doric façade. In Salonica the church of St. George was carefully examined. It was a Roman building, transformed into a church in the fifth or sixth century, and in the sixteenth century into a mosque. A study was also made of the old Byzantine

fortress on the acropolis. It is further proposed to take photographs of wood-carvings, inlaid work, etc., illustrating the local decorative art of the eighteenth century. (G. MENDEL, *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 9-17.)

ITALY

AMITERNUM.—Reliefs of the Time of Claudius.—In *Not. Scav.* XIV, 1917, pp. 332-341 F. FORNARI publishes reliefs found in the district known as Torricello. Of the slabs two belong together and are slightly curved, as if they formed part of the decoration of an exedra or some similar structure. A third obviously belonged to the same funeral monument, but did not adjoin either of the other two. The relief represented the procession (*pompa*) preceding gladiatorial games, and probably recorded an exhibition given by the deceased during his lifetime or his funeral games. Fornari assigns the relief, which is of crude workmanship, to the time of Claudius, and considers it especially interesting as a specimen of provincial art of that period. A fourth slab, of much better execution, represents a round shield adorned with a gorgon's head, flanked by two greaves. Five fragmentary inscriptions were found in the same place, one of which mentions a *triumvir Augustalis*, a title peculiar to Amiternum and Pelutium, in place of the usual *sevir*. This inscription is on a curved stone, and apparently formed a part of the same monument as the reliefs with the *pompa*.

ANGERA.—Excavations in the Mithraeum.—Angera, near Como, was the site of the Roman Vicus Sebinus. The Mithraeum was made by building a structure before the entrance of a grotto in the rock upon which the village stands, and the grotto itself required but little modification to serve as the apse of the temple. The cave was elliptical in form, 7.50 by 4.70 m. and 4.80 m. high. A bench ran around the sides and in the rear wall was a place for the usual relief. In and near the Mithraeum were found fragments of Roman vases and coins dating from 73 A.D. to the middle of the fourth century. The grotto had been occupied also in prehistoric times and yielded a number of stone implements. (G. PATRONI, *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 3-11.)

CASALE DI MALAFEDE.—A Subterranean Aqueduct.—On the left side of the Via Ostiensis, about 200 m. east of the Casale di Malafede and between twelve and thirteen kilometers from Rome, there were found the remains of an aqueduct with a subterranean *specus*. It ran approximately parallel to the Via Ostiensis at an average distance of 80 m., and probably conducted water to some villa, perhaps that of L. Fabius Cilo. (E. GATTI, *Not. Scav.* XIV, 1917, pp. 275-277; 2 figs.)

CATANIA.—Discoveries in 1916 and 1917.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 53-71 P. ORSI gives a summary of discoveries made during 1916 and 1917. These included the unearthing of a hypogeum with mural decorations of a simple pattern, containing a number of interesting graffiti and Greek Christian inscriptions. Other discoveries were a Hellenistic building of unknown purpose, perhaps a heroon, and traces of the ancient necropolis of Catania with a few vases. The excavations in the Odeum were completed.

COMO.—Latin Inscriptions.—In *Not. Scav.* XIV, 1917, pp. 265-273 G. PATRONI publishes twenty-three inscriptions found in the town of Como and

for the most part within the area of the ancient necropolis of S. Giovanni. The existence of a necropolis of "the end of the good imperial period" is established. Noteworthy are the *nomen* Cattulia (cf. the *cognomen* Catullus), some names new to that region, and the mention of a hitherto unknown *corrector Italiae*.

MONTE BALAIANA.—An Early Sardinian Bronze Statuette.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 72–76 A. TARAMELLI reports the discovery at Monte Balaiana, Sardinia, of a prehistoric Sardinian bronze statuette, 18.5 cm. in height. He adds a brief discussion of this early art and of the meaning of the name Balaiana, which he thinks may be connected with the ancient Balares.

NEPI.—An Ancient Tomb.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 16–19 E. STEFANI announces the discovery of a tomb near Nepi, beside the ancient road from Nepi to Falerii. It contained a few vases.

OSTIA.—The House of Diana.—The completion of the excavation of the house of Diana (see *Not. Scav.* 1914, pp. 248 ff.) leads to a full description of the building. Although on two sides it closely adjoins the building of the Mills (dei Molini, *ibid.* 1914, p. 250), it conforms to Nero's law mentioned by Tacitus, *Ann.* 13, 43, by having its own separate walls. It covers an area of 900 sq. m., of which 80 are occupied by a court, serving for the admission of light; the court is not exactly in the middle of the structure. Of the other two sides of the building one, 23.30 m. in length, fronting on the Via di Diana contains a stairway leading to the upper stories, the main entrance, and three shops, one of which opens also on the Via dei Balconi. The side fronting the latter street (39.30 m. in length) contains five shops and a second stairway leading to the upper stories. The principal floor of the house is not the ground floor, as at Pompeii, but the second story, which was surrounded on both sides by a balcony, of which a considerable part survives. The ground floor consisted on the outside of a series of shops, which received light from the street by means of doors and windows, and an inner series of rooms lighted from the court and the corridors surrounding it. The shops were closed by wooden doors on a threshold of travertine and fastened by bars. The walls retained traces of painting resembling the second Pompeian style. The ground floor and the first floor were closely connected, the rooms above the shops forming corresponding dwellings, reached by stairways in the corners of the shops, while the outside stairways led to the floors above. The house was at least four stories high and the remains, which are well preserved, rise to a height of seven metres. It seems to have been built in the second century of our era and to have been occupied until the end of the third century, at least. This theory is supported by the coins found in the building. (G. CALZA, *Not. Scav.* XIV, 1917, pp. 312–326.)

A Magic Amulet.—In *Not. Scav.* XIV, 1917, pp. 326–328 G. CALZA describes an amulet found during the excavation of houses not earlier than the second or later than the fourth century of our era; the exact location of the find is uncertain. It is circular, with a hole for hanging it. On one side is a male figure in profile to the right, clad in a long robe reaching to the feet. He has a spear leaning against his left arm, and the right hand holds a staff projecting from a caldron, as if he were stirring the contents; above is the legend "Solomon." On the other side is the triple-formed Hecate, represented in exactly the same way as on a gem shown in Roscher, *s.v.* 'Hekate,' p. 1909. In the field of the medal are numerous figures, many of which appear on both sides:

a caduceus, a balance, an X (the sign of Osiris), an X with a circle described through the apices, a kind of anchor, a star with small circles at the apices, and a four-branched candlestick, perhaps intended to represent one with seven branches. The amulet, which is in some respects unique, is perhaps Jewish. There were communities of Jews at Castel Porziano and at Porto.

PITIGLIANO.—A Neolithic Tomb.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 12-15 E. GALLI records the discovery of a neolithic tomb at Corano near Pitigliano, containing two vases.

ROME.—Recent Acquisitions of the National Museum.—Among the recent acquisitions of the National Museum in Rome are the following: 1, the Niobid from the Gardens of Sallust; 2, the base and two feet of an Egyptian statue of black basalt probably found near the Ministero delle Poste e Telegrafi; 3, a fragment of an architrave; 4, a marble head of Isis-Demeter less than life size; 5, a piece of a large glass plate decorated with a small figure of Victory and a helmeted head on a larger scale; 6, the contents of the tomb of a young girl including a small boat of glass paste; 7, part of a marble statuette representing a negro walking on his hands; 8, a plaque of terracotta, 0.465 x 0.36 m. with three scenes separated by columns; 9, a hoard of 820 denarii dating from the end of the second and beginning of the third centuries, found in the Via del Tritone, Rome; 10, a hoard of about two thousand debased silver pieces dating from the second half of the third century A.D. found near Ancona. Many other separate coins were acquired, the most interesting and rarest being two 100 *litrae* gold pieces of Syracuse dating from the end of the fifth century B.C. and bearing the head of Persephone and Heracles struggling with the lion.

One has the letters ETA, i.e. Evenetus. (R. PARIBENI, *Boll. Arte*, XII, 1918, pp. 49-56; 5 figs.)

The Underground Basilica of the Via Praenestina.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 30-39 (7 figs.) E. GATTI publishes further details of the underground building found two kilometres from the Stazione di Termini on the railroad to Naples (see *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, p. 79). Its floor is 13.34 m. below the level of the rails. It was undoubtedly used for the celebration of

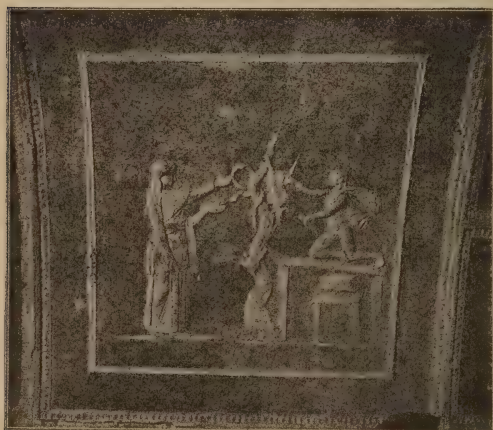


FIGURE 3.—THE GOLDEN FLEECE: VIA PRAENESTINA, ROME.

mystic rites and dates from the early years of the empire. *Ibid.* pp. 39-52 (9 figs.) F. FORNARI describes the reliefs which include several with mythological subjects such as the rape of Helen, the rescue of Hesione, Jason and the Golden Fleece (Fig. 3), Heracles and one of the Hesperides, the pun-

ishment of the Danaides, etc. He believes that the building belonged to the family of the Statilii.

Pagan and Christian Inscriptions.—In *Not. Scav.* XIV, 1917 pp. 277–288, G. FORNARI gives an account of discoveries near the principal entrance of the cemetery of Ponziano, including sixty-one inscriptions, for the most part fragmentary. The cemetery is mentioned in the *Salzburg Itinerary*, which refers to tombs of saints and an *ecclesia magna*, where the martyrs Abdon and Sennen were buried; no trace of these monuments was found. Outside the area of the cemetery, to the north, there were found the remains of an ancient building, probably part of a villa. *Ibid.* XIV, 1917, pp. 288–310 G. LUGLI describes the exploration of a new part of the *sepulcretum Salarium*, between the Via Po and the Via Gregorio Allegri. Many tombs were uncovered and four columbaria decorated in colors. There were fifty-three inscriptions, one of which mentions a *speculator cohortis VIII*, belonging to the century of Nepos (cf. *C.I.L.* VI, 2686). There were also found thirty-four fragments of a bas-relief (see *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, p. 79), so badly damaged that only the group at the extreme right could be reconstructed.

Inscriptions from the Via Po.—In *Not. Scav.* XIV, 1917, pp. 310–312 G. FORNARI publishes twelve inscriptions found behind the palazzo of G. Sleiter in the Via Po. They form an addition to those published *ibid.* 1916, pp. 95 ff.

Discoveries on the Via Labicana.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 20–29 G. LUGLI reports the unearthing of another portion of the *sepulcretum* near the third kilometer of the Via Casilina, the

ancient Labicana. It fronted on the Via Labicana and was for the most part explored in 1912 and 1917. The finds included twenty-two inscriptions and a small bronze statuette, 144 mm. high, (Fig. 4) a copy of the Diadumenus of Polyclitus. (See also *Cron. B. A.* V, 1918, pp. 36–37).

Minor Discoveries.—In *Not. Scav.* XIV, 1917, pp. 273–275 E. GATTI, F. GATTI, and G. FORNARI report some discoveries of minor importance.

SICILY.—**Greek Inscriptions.**—In *Not. Scav.* XIV, 1917, pp. 341–348 E. GABRICI publishes eleven fragmentary archaic inscriptions, of which eight were found at Selinus and three at Motye.

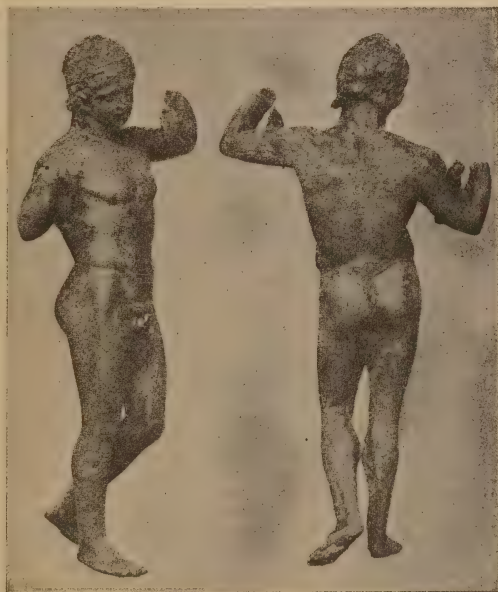


FIGURE 4.—DIADUMENUS: VIA LABICANA, ROME.

ZERFALIU.—A Roman Necropolis.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 76-79 A. TARAMELLI reports the discovery of remains of an ancient nuraghe and of Roman antiquities in the region called Santu Giuanne (S. Giovanni) near the village of Zerfaliu, Sardinia. The latter consisted of a small necropolis, apparently of the period of Hadrian. In one of the tombs was found a bronze disc (8 cm. in diameter) rudely decorated with three birds. It was probably the cover of a box of wood or bone. Taramelli assumes the existence of a Roman settlement at Zerfaliu.

SPAIN

BOLONIA.—Excavations in 1917.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 34-40 P. PARIS reports upon his excavations at Bolonia, a small town a few miles west of Tarifa, in 1917. The principal ruins, which include the theatre, lie in a rectangular space once surrounded by a wall, of which some parts are still well preserved. Near the shore a building used for salting fish was excavated; also a large Roman house which had a square court surrounded by a colonnade and several rooms connected with it. Columns from an earlier building were employed in its construction. On the slope of the hill a fountain was found as well as an undisturbed tomb, the painted decoration of which is identical with that of one of the rooms in the house by the shore. All of these buildings date from about the time of the Christian era. In March 1918 the excavations were resumed and two bronze figures 15 cm. high found. They were much corroded but when cleaned were found to represent a satyr carrying off a woman (*ibid.* pp. 165-166). Another establishment for salting fish was excavated and likewise a large house. One of its rooms was decorated with wall paintings of peonies in color on a white background. Many plaques of dark red and yellow stucco were found and on them large numbers of graffiti in Roman letters but in the Iberian language, figures of men, and prows of ships adorned with monsters. An avenue bordered by columns, probably the principal street of the town, passed this house. In the Roman cemetery great quantities of primitive barbarian figures, the significance of which is not yet clear, were brought to light (*ibid.* pp. 184-185).

FRANCE

KOENIGSHOFEN.—A Sanctuary of Mithra.—In 1912 while the foundations of a church were being dug at Koenigshofen near Strasburg remains of a Mithraeum were found. The plan of the building, which was erected about 225 A.D. and restored under Aurelian, can be determined with exactness, but the interior had been sacked by the Christians after the fall of paganism. In the foundations of the Mithra relief were found a human skull and femur, connected with some oriental rite of consecration. Among the inscriptions are dedications to Attis and Cissonius, proving a connection between the mysteries of Mithra and those of the Magna Mater. The inscription on the altar is to be read *Deo invicto Mytrae secu[lari]*. Other Mithraic monuments in Alsace are noted by R. Forrer who published this sanctuary under the title *Das Mithraheiligtum von Königshofen bei Strassburg*, in 1915. (F. CUMONT, *R. Ét. Anc.* XX, 1918, pp. 117-118.)

MONTESQUIEU-AVANTÈS.—**Palaeolithic Drawings.**—On a hillside at Montesquieu-Avantès, in the department of Ariège, Count Bergonen has discovered another cave with palaeolithic drawings upon its walls. They date from the Aurignacian and Magdalenian epochs and represent bison, reindeer, horses, wild goats, bears, a lion, birds, and human figures. Little arrows may be seen sticking in the lion. The human forms are poorly drawn, while the animals are well depicted. In one drawing certain details are picked out in black and seem to represent a human being masked and covered with an animal's skin, perhaps a ritual dance. The cave of the Tuc d'Audoubert where the group of clay bison was found (see *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1912, pp. 532 ff.; *A. J. A.* XVII, 1913, p. 450) is on the same estate. (*Nation*, November 16, 1918, p. 595.)

NAGES.—**Gallic Remains.**—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XX, 1918, pp. 185–190 (fig.) F. MAZAURIC points out that soundings made at Nages (Gard) in 1914 revealed a Gallic wall with a paved road near it. Many fragments of local and imported pottery were brought to light as well as some remains of glass, bronze, etc. The mass supposed to be the remains of a tower is really made up of what is left of twin towers. Two periods may be distinguished in the fortifications, the earlier dating back to the first Iron Age.

PARIS.—**Recent Acquisitions of the Louvre.**—In 1917 the Louvre received as a gift from Professor Maxime Collignon two bronzes. One, which was bought at Mantinea, represents in relief a young man standing in front of a column. He holds in his left hand a large phiale and in his right an oenochoe. His chlamys blows back in the breeze. There was probably originally a second figure. The whole design was attached to a Greek mirror and may be dated by its style in the third century B.C. The second bronze is a statuette of a tipsy Silenus dancing. It is good Roman work. The eyes were of silver set in. The Louvre has also recently acquired a torso of a Roman emperor in a cuirass adorned with figures in relief. Above is the Gorgon's head, and below two Nereids mounted upon sea horses gallop towards each other. Below these are two dolphins. The ornamentation is the same as on a torso found at Olympia. (A. HÉRON DE VILLEFOSSE, *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 151–155; fig.)

HOLLAND

UBBERGEN.—**Remains of a Village of the Batavi.**—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XX, 1918, p. 116 F. CUMONT calls attention to the important discoveries of Dr. J. H. Holwerda near Nimègue. In 1917 considerable remains of the village of the Batavi (*oppidum Batavorum*) burnt by Civilis in 70 A.D. were brought to light on the plateau of Ubbergen. A few hundred metres away were remains of a fort where the Tenth Legion was established for thirty years after the subjugation of the Batavi. See also J. BREUER, *ibid.* pp. 190–192.

NORTHERN AFRICA

CARTHAGE.—**Recent Discoveries.**—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 140–150 (3 figs.) Dr. CARTON reports upon his recent archaeological discoveries at Carthage. He finds that the stones along the waterfront at the northwest angle of the sea wall belonged to an enclosing wall about thirty feet high. At

the foot of the Bordj-Djedid a series of eighteen apses supported the great landing-stage to which a staircase of white marble 50 m. broad led down. Here were located the stables, storehouses, etc. mentioned by ancient writers. In a trench a stele of white marble, 41 cm. high, came to light. It represents a nude man standing in front of a wall with his hands above his head. The lower part is broken off. Considerable information as to the line of the ancient waterfront was obtained by soundings made at various points. Between the Fondouk of the Jews and the dar Oulad el Agha there was excavated an elliptical structure with two apses facing each other and enclosing a room 11 m. long by 6 m. wide. Of the openings between the apses one led to a stairway which descended to the water, and the other to a place paved with a fine mosaic of colored marbles laid in a pattern consisting of rectangles and triangles. A Christian tomb was found nearby.

UNITED STATES

CLEVELAND.—*A Stele of the Twenty-second Dynasty.*—In the *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, V, 1918, pp. 67-69 (fig.) Mrs. CAROLINE R. WILLIAMS publishes an Egyptian stele in the Cleveland museum which is inscribed with the name of Shedesnefertem, a high priest of Memphis in the early part of the twenty-second dynasty. It is a little more than 34 inches high and 31 inches wide with decoration in three bands. The middle register has the young Sun-god seated on a lotus flower attended by a figure of Maat on either side, while back of them at the left stands Sekhmet and at the right Ptah. This part of the slab is in low relief. The zone above represents apes addressing the sun, and that below priests worshipping Bast, Sekhmet, and Mut, both in sunken relief. The composition and workmanship are excellent.

NEW YORK.—*Recent Acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum.*—The Metropolitan Museum has recently acquired through the bequest of Mr. Isaac D. Fletcher about 250 objects among which are: 1, a magnificent Apulian vase 3 ft. 3 in. high, upon each side of which are represented mourners carrying offerings to a tomb, while on the neck of the vase is a toilet scene and the figure of a woman crowned by two Erotes; 2, a Lucanian vase 1 ft. 8½ in. high upon which appear two women giving a warrior a drink; 3, eight pieces of ancient glass; 4, two bowls covered with metallic glaze, one decorated with ornamental motives and the other with a representation of Heracles carrying off the Erymanthian boar. Two examples of Egyptian art were also received, the bronze figure of a cat of the Ptolemaic period, and a statuette of a priest of the thirtieth dynasty. (*B. Metr. Mus.* XIII, 1918, pp. 58-59; 2 figs.)

A New Egyptian Room in the Metropolitan Museum.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIII, 1918, pp. 283-288 (7 figs.) A. M. LETHBRIDGE calls attention to a room recently opened in the Egyptian section of the Metropolitan Museum in which are displayed antiquities illustrating the daily life of the ancient Egyptians. Many of the objects exhibited came from the excavations carried on by the Museum at Lisht, at Thebes, and in the oasis of Khargeh.

Etruscan Earrings.—The Metropolitan Museum has recently acquired two pairs of Etruscan earrings dating from the fourth or third century B.C. They are important examples of Etruscan gold work. The design consists of a highly decorated horseshoe pattern above and an inverted pyramid of balls below.

One pair is two inches long. (Miss G. M. A. R(ichter), *B. Metr. Mus.* XIII, 1918, pp. 289-290; 2 figs.)

A Chinese Tomb Entrance of the Wei Period.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIII, 1918, pp. 217-220 (4 figs.) S. C. B. R. calls attention to a stone tomb entrance or gateway from Peking recently set up in the Metropolitan Museum. It consists of a semicircular lintel resting upon stone jambs and kept in place by dowels. The decoration of the lintel consists of a broad band of five panels filled with symbolic animals and scrolls across the lower part, and a large ogre's head with phoenixes on both sides above. The jambs are decorated with five medallions beginning and ending with an ogre's head. A fresco representing Buddha in a red and green robe standing on a lotus flower formed part of the decoration of the tomb and this was also acquired. The doorway and fresco date from the Wei period, that is about the sixth century A.D.

Ornaments from a Chinese Tomb.—The Metropolitan Museum has recently acquired thirteen objects said to have been found in a Chinese tomb on the Mongolian border near Yulin in the northern part of the province of Shenzi. There are plaques of bronze and silver, and other objects of bone and jade. The designs represent horses attacked by bears, deer grazing, lions' heads, etc. Some of these are purely Scythian in style, others purely Chinese, and others still show both styles. They apparently date from the Han period (206 B.C. to 220 A.D.). At present it cannot be determined whether the Scythian ornaments came from Siberia, or originated in China. (S. C. B. R., *B. Metr. Mus.* XIII, 1918, pp. 135-137; 8 figs.)

PHILADELPHIA.—**Two Chinese Reliefs.**—In *M.J.* IX, 1918, pp. 244-272 (19 figs.) C. W. B(ishop) publishes two Chinese sculptures in relief recently placed on exhibition in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. They represent war-horses of the emperor T'ang T'ai-tsung, who died in 649 A.D. and was buried near Li-ts'üan Hsien. About the interior of his mortuary



FIGURE 5.—GROOM AND WOUNDED HORSE: PHILADELPHIA.



FIGURE 6.—WOUNDED HORSE: PHILADELPHIA.

chamber were figures of his six horses, each carved on a slab of stone six feet high, seven feet wide, and one foot thick. The two finest of these were acquired by the Museum. One (Fig. 5) represents a wounded horse with a groom in the act of drawing an arrow from its breast; the other (Fig. 6) a horse walking forward with three arrows sticking in its back. Both are fine examples of Chinese sculpture of the seventh century. The four remaining slabs are now in the museum at Si-an Fu.

Chinese Sculptures.—In *M.J.* IX, 1918, pp. 123-147 (7 figs.) C. W. B(ISHOP) calls attention to four pieces of Chinese sculpture recently acquired by the University Museum. There are two colossal heads of the Boddhisattva in stone which are fine examples of Chinese Buddhistic sculpture and probably date from the sixth century A.D.; also a lifesize Maitreya of stone dedicated in the year 586 A.D. and a small bronze Maitreya, 24 inches high, dating from 537. The last two have their dates fixed by inscriptions.

Two Early Chinese Bronzes.—In *M.J.* IX, 1918, pp. 99-120 (3 figs.) C. W. B(ISHOP) publishes two recent acquisitions of the University Museum, a libation cup $9\frac{1}{2}$ inches high of the twelfth or eleventh century B.C., and a sacrificial wine vessel 18 inches high dating from the latter part of the Chou period (1122-225 B.C.). Both are fine examples of early Chinese work in bronze.

EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, MEDIAEVAL, AND RENAISSANCE ART

GREECE

SALONICA.—The Destruction of the Church of St. Demetrius.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1917, pp. 377-380 C. DIEHL reports that the fire of August 18 and 19, 1917 which burned about half of the city of Salonica destroyed the famous Byzantine church of St. Demetrius. The apse, the great lateral arches of the

transepts and the colonnade on the right of the ground floor still remain, but there is little else. The mosaics were almost entirely destroyed, but the four panels which decorate the pillars at the entrance to the transept escaped. Great efforts have been made by the Greeks to preserve everything which could be preserved. Some interesting discoveries have come to light, *e.g.*, on the right wall of the church certain paintings have been found, and in a little chapel to the right of the apse frescoes dating from the fourteenth century. Under the building a crypt has been discovered, and under one of the transepts a chapel. Fortunately a few years ago the building was carefully studied and photographs and water color reproductions of the mosaics made for a monograph on the church by M. Diehl, which is soon to appear. The other Byzantine churches in Salonica were not injured by the fire.

ITALY

BOLOGNA.—**The Manufacture of Maiolica.**—In *Faenza*, VI, 1918, pp. 25–26, F. M. VALERI announces the discovery of records that contain, besides other important data, proof of the existence in Bologna of maiolica ateliers at an earlier time than has heretofore been shown by documents. In 1421 the Risi family moved from Modena to Bologna and established maiolica works there.

FLORENCE.—**An Unknown Work by Giotto.**—In *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 39–41 (fig.) F. M. PERKINS publishes a fragment of a polyptych in the collection of H. P. Horne as a work of Giotto. The piece contains the half length figure of St. Stephen in a panel the upper corners of which have a plastic decoration of floral design (Fig. 7). The painting is almost perfectly preserved and bears the distinguishing characteristics of Giotto,—decision of drawing, simplicity of modelling, firmness of construction, and the general effect of plastic force that suggests inevitably his name. Details of the figure, also, show unmistakable relationship to his authentic works. If this authorship is denied, there is no other to advance. None of the master's followers came so close to their model.

Commemoration of Fra Bartolommeo.—In *Cron. B. A. V*, 1918, pp. 13–14, P. N. FERRI calls attention to the exhibit of drawings and cartoons by Fra Bartolommeo held in the Uffizi in celebration of the fourth centennial of the artist's death. Aside from their merit in themselves, many of the examples exhibited are of importance for the study of paintings executed after their designs. To make this point of real value to visitors photographs of some of the paintings were placed at their disposal.

MESSINA.—**Early Work of Antonello Gagini.**—In spite of the destruction of most of Gagini's sculptures in Messina, E. MAUCERI finds some important examples illustrative of the artist's activity there (1498–1508). These are published in *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 89–92 (5 figs.). The earliest known production of Gagini's is the Madonna in the church of Bordonaro in Messina, a figure animated by youthful innocence and sad tenderness, created in the style of the fifteenth century. The development which Gagini underwent in a few years is made clear by a comparison of this early Madonna with the Madonna in the Duomo of Palermo signed and dated 1503. Here the form is decidedly cinquecentesque. Other examples to the point are the Madonna of S. Maria

di Gesù in Catania and the tomb of Giovanni Cardenas in the museum of Syracuse.

MILAN.—The Borromeo Museum.—In *Emporium*, XLVIII, 1918, pp. 3-14 (2 pls.; 9 figs.) L. BELTRAMI writes on the original museum of Cardinal Borromeo. Such a donation to the public as Borromeo's in 1618 was for the seventeenth century very unusual. The character and importance of the collection may be judged from Borromeo's catalogue, as well as from the works

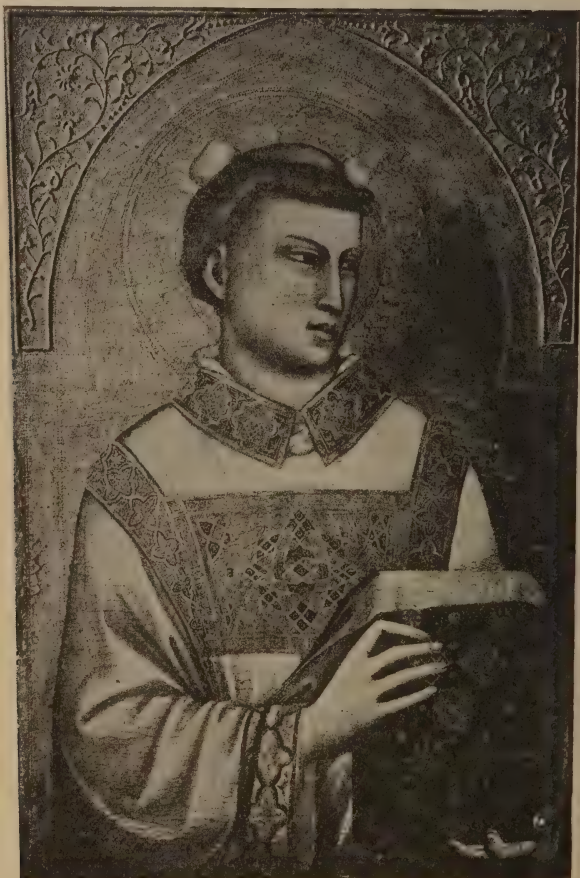


FIGURE 7.—SAINT STEPHEN BY GIOTTO.

that still remain in the museum. This catalogue shows that the purpose in the collector's mind was didactic; for this reason, aside from originals, copies abounded in his selection, and there was also a series of portraits of notable characters. Among the originals included in the bequest of 1618 were Titian's *Adoration of the Magi*, Veronese's *Holy Family with Tobias*, Luini's *Holy*

Family, and Leonardo's Portrait of a Duchess of Milan. Borromeo's own attributions are, for the most part, still considered valid.

NAPLES.—**Gian Paolo de Agostini.**—Light is thrown upon the work of Gian Paolo de Agostini at Naples by a letter dated 1524 to which L. VENTURI calls attention in *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 49–52 (3 figs.). In this letter there is mentioned with slight description a portrait of Sannazaro by De Agostini, who is there called a native of Venice and a pupil of Giovanni Bellini. Apparently the portrait referred to is the one formerly in the Lancellotti collection, engraved by Morghen. A replica of this belongs to Count Contini, Rome.

RAVENNA.—**The Bacini of S. Apollinare Nuovo.**—The restorations made necessary by the explosion of a bomb in the basilica of S. Apollinare Nuovo in 1915 have made possible a minute study of the ceramic decorations of the campanile. In *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 128–135 (2 pls.) G. BALLARDINI discusses the *bacino* and *scodella* which remained *in situ* after the explosion and have since been removed to the Museo Nazionale, Ravenna. Examination of the exterior of the wall of the campanile reveals a Romanesque restoration of that part in which the ceramic pieces were imbedded. To the Romanesque period, then, these pieces are to be assigned. And the style of the *bacino* is clearly Hispano-Moresque. Considering the popularity of Musselman ceramics in upper Italy, it is not remarkable that dishes of such origin should have been brought to Ravenna in the thirteenth century for decoration of the basilica. Two gold-lusted plaques or *bacini* of indefinite provenance in the Kunstgewerbe-Museum in Berlin bear such striking resemblance to the one here discussed as to suggest that they may be two of the three that once decorated the campanile.

Rimini.—**A New Portrait of Dante.**—In *Emporium*, XLVIII, 1918, pp. 45–46 (2 figs.) is published the painting of a laurel-crowned head, apparently that of Dante, which has recently come to light in the church of S. Agostino at Rimini. The poet is one of a group in the fore part of a procession in a scene from the life of a saint.

ROME.—**A Triptych by Domenico da Tolmezzo.**—In *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 53–56 (2 figs.) A. SERAFINI publishes an altar triptych, found in southern Etruria, which is signed, "OPUS DOMINICI DE TUMETIO, 1484." The altar piece represents the Madonna and two saints and is of carved wood, painted. It is, therefore, important in the reconstruction of the artist's activity in wood carving, which is known to have been prodigious, but of which only one other example has thus far come to light. A painted altar piece in the Cathedral of Udine shows sufficient similarity to the newly discovered triptych to be assigned to the same artist; but the stiff, wooden figures, tolerable in the carving, are not successful in the painting. There the treatment of the architectural setting is more satisfactory.

The Sarcophagi of Saint Ciriacus and his Companions.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* XXXVI, 1916–1917, pp. 57–72, FRANCESCO FORNARI describes the results of excavations at the seventh milestone in the Via Ostiensis, and the discovery of the four sarcophagi of St. Ciriacus and his five companions who were buried here at the beginning of the fourth century. Over the graves is a small chapel, and two others are close by. This became the nucleus of a small burial centre, which expanded towards the south, and the foundations of a church, probably

that of St. Ciriacus ascribed to Honorius, have been found about seventy metres from the Via Ostiensis.

VALERIANO.—The Nativity by Pordenone.—In *Cron. B. A. V*, 1918, pp. 14–15 (fig.) P. MOLMENTI reproduces a photograph which is probably the only record that remains of the precious work by Pordenone, the Nativity at Valeriano. This, perhaps the most beautiful of the works by its author, has been destroyed in the war.

SPAIN

BURGOS.—Two Sculptured Images.—Two sculptures in the Monastery of Oña, one in the round, representing the Crucifixion, the other in low relief, of John the Baptist, are reproduced by E. HERRERA Y ORIA, S. J. in *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVI, 1918, pp. 22–26 (pl.). Both are Gothic in style and belong to the first half of the fourteenth century.

FRANCE

CARPENTRAS.—French Primitives.—In *Les Arts*, No. 169, 1918, pp. 22–24 (3 figs.) J. VERNAY publishes three examples of fifteenth century French paintings from Carpentras and its vicinity. The first is a Coronation of the Virgin in the Cathedral of Carpentras. It has the richness, dignity, and purity of a Fra Angelico. The Calvary, in the museum of Carpentras, shows some Italian influence, suggesting the mural paintings of the church of San Gimignano, or the art of Nicolo Alunno; but it also has distinctive French characteristics. The third work, extraordinarily sumptuous, is an Adoration of the Magi in the church of Venasque, Vaucluse. This painting is entirely French.

PARIS.—An Unpublished Van der Meer.—The remarkable discovery of a painting by Van der Meer of Delft is discussed in an article in *Les Arts*, No. 162, 1917, pp. 1–4 (3 figs.). The picture is in the collection of General de la Villetteaux. It not only bears the unmistakable characteristics of the artist, but is signed with the famous monogram. The subject, a parochial corner of Delft, is most closely comparable to the representation of the Houses of Delft in the Six collection. Perfect in preservation this out-of-door scene is one of the loveliest in atmosphere and intimate charm of any of the known works by the Delft master.

Exposition of Mural Paintings in France.—In *Gaz. B.-A.* XIV, 1918, pp. 167–197 (pl.; 13 figs.) L. HOURICQ gives an account of an exposition, held in April and May, 1918, in the Museum of Decorative Arts, of the principal copies of French mural paintings which belong to the archives of the *Commission des Monuments historiques*. The exposition was the natural complement to the exposition of French primitives in 1904. For historians it was even more instructive, containing as it did accurate reproductions of mural paintings in France from the eleventh to the seventeenth century. The reproductions in water-color are in themselves notable works of art. The most successful of the copyists is M. Yperman. In each work he employed a different treatment, in keeping with the spirit of the original. A description, with more reproductions, of the same exposition is given by A. PÉRATÉ in *Les Arts*, No. 169, 1918, pp. 1–16 (16 figs.).

SOISSONS.—Monuments Affected by the War.—The destruction resulting from the fighting at and around Soissons prompts the publication by A. GARDNER in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 96–101 (2 pls.) of photographs and notes on the abbey of S. Jean des Vignes and the cathedral of that town. The chief feature of the earlier part of the work (middle of the thirteenth century) on the abbey was the porch with its three great cavernous portals. The south transept was, from the architectural point of view, the chief glory of the cathedral.

AUSTRIA

VIENNA.—Sixteenth Century English Portraits.—A series of ten sixteenth century portraits of English men and women, now exhibited in the Imperial gallery, Vienna, was discovered in Vienna by Mr. Lionel Cust in 1900. Two small miniatures of Walter Raleigh and Francis Drake are undoubtedly by Hilliard. (*Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 157–158; pl.)

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

KILLALOE.—A Runic Inscription.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, p. 153 E. C. R. ARMSTRONG calls attention to the discovery of a runic inscription cut on a stone built into the wall surrounding the burial-ground of Killaloe Cathedral. It reads *Thurkrim ristí krus thína*, i. e. "Thorgrim erected this cross." This is the third runic inscription to be found in Ireland.

LONDON.—An Unpublished Matsys.—A hitherto unknown painting by Quentin Matsys which appeared at the recent Linnell sale at Christie's and is now owned by Mr. A. H. Buttery, is published by T. BORENIUS in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, p. 3 (pl.). The subject is the Virgin and Child with St. Catherine and another female saint. It represents Matsys in a rarer and more exquisite mood than he usually evinces in his work, and the design is characterized by a largeness and a noble and monumental dignity almost unparalleled by him. It belongs, clearly, among the early works of the master, bearing closest resemblance to the great altarpiece of 1511 at Antwerp.

The "Benedict Master."—A new contribution to the study of the much disputed master of the Benedictine series is made by C. DODGSON (*Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 46–51; pl.) in his publication of a ninth drawing. This one, which passed recently into a private collection in London, has for its subject the visit of S. Benedict to his sister, S. Scholastica. In all probability the drawings were intended as designs for a set of glass paintings in the church of some Benedictine abbey near Nuremberg. Two of them bear the arms of two Nuremberg families and the others have reserved spaces, apparently to be filled in with similar designs. Their authorship has been much disputed. Just now the tendency to assign them to Dürer is returning.

Jan Lys.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, p. 115 (pl.) T. BORENIUS reproduces a photograph of a painting by Jan Lys, recently destroyed by fire in the Sackville Gallery. The painting, which represented the Satyr in the House of the Peasant, had been assigned to various masters, among them

Velasquez. But it evinces distinctly the style of Lys, under the influence of Caravaggio, and is an important item in the reconstruction of the history of its author's activity.

A Cassone Panel by Cosimo Roselli (?).—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, p. 201 (pl.) R. FRY publishes a cassone panel (Fig. 8, A) recently in the Linnell sale at Christie's and now belonging to Mr. Chamberlin. It was attributed to the school of Botticelli and described as S. Ursula and her Virgins. Comparison with a panel of a cassone in the National Gallery representing the Combat between Love and Chastity (Fig. 8, B) generally ascribed to Cosimo Roselli, suggests that we have here a representation from the same subject by the same artist. The backgrounds are remarkably similar.

An Exhibition of Glass-Paintings.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 65-73 (2 pls.) appears a summary description by A. VALLANCE of an exhibition of Mr. Grosvenor Thomas' collection of painted glass, opened at the Fine Art Society's galleries in May, 1918. A large proportion of the paintings are heraldic and date, for the most part, from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, though there is one piece at least, the arms borne by Sir John de Handlow at the Dunstable tournament, that dates from the early fourteenth century. The English glass stands in a class apart from the continental by its light and gay effect, which a lavish use of white glass alone insures.

Acquisitions of the National Gallery.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, p. 107 (2 pls.) C. J. HOLMES describes paintings recently acquired by the National Gallery. Among these are two small, well-known canvases by Tintoretto dealing with the story of the Trojan Horse and an interesting group of paintings from the Layard bequest. The latter includes the Portrait of a Youth now ascribed to the school of Botticelli, Ettore Averoldi by Moretto, a head by Morone, Christ Baptising a Doge in Prison by Paris Bordone, a Madonna and Child with Angels, attributed both to Boccaccino and Previtali, and a Portrait of an Elderly Man usually attributed to Domenico Morone, but more probably executed under the immediate influence of Gentile Bellini.

Textiles from Egypt in the South Kensington Museum.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 145-146 (2 pls.; fig.) A. F. KENDRICK publishes more textiles from Egyptian cemeteries that have recently been acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum. Three of the pieces belong to the Graeco-Roman period. But the most interesting ones are fragments of a tunic of about the sixth century. With these fragments the general design of the tunic of this period may be ascertained.

WHITLEY.—**A Window with Pre-Norman Paintings**.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 189-201 (4 figs.) P. M. JOHNSTON calls attention to the discovery in Witley church, Surrey, of a double-splayed window with paintings on the inner splays dating from before the Norman conquest. The principal scene represents the visitation of Elizabeth by the Virgin Mary. Paintings on the south wall of the nave adjacent to the window appear to be of the same date. They occupied three zones and seem to have been carried entirely round the walls of the nave. Including this frieze the strip of painting uncovered is about twenty feet long and ten feet high. The colors were applied to the roughly troweled plaster probably while it was still wet.



^A



^B

FIGURE 8.—CASSONE PANELS BY COSIMO ROSELLI (?): A, PROPERTY OF MR. CHAMBERLIN; B, NATIONAL GALLERY, LONDON.

NORTHERN AFRICA

CARTHAGE.—Excavations in 1916-1917.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1917, pp. 507-529 (7 figs.) A.-L. DELATTRE reports upon his excavations in the basilica near Sainte Monique, Carthage, during the year 1916-1917. The building had seven aisles separated by six rows of columns. The principal aisle was wider than the others, and at one end of it was the presbyterium with two columns in front. The four bases of the ciborium were found, but no trace of the altar. The building was 71.34 m. long inside and 35.55 m. wide. The interior columns were taken from older buildings, and are of different kinds of marble and different sizes. All the varieties of Corinthian capitals are represented. In front of the façade towards the sea, there was a rectangular court or atrium 20 by 35.55 m. in which was a long narrow cistern (8.75 m. by 1.75 m.), and near it in the centre of the court a subterranean hall 18 m. long, 4.25 m. wide, and 5 m. deep. The church seems to have been constructed over a Christian cemetery and in consequence many sepulchral inscriptions were discovered.

UNITED STATES

BROOKLYN.—Acquisitions of the Brooklyn Museum.—The Brooklyn Museum obtained by purchase at the Bardini sale in April, 1918 ten pieces of Italian Renaissance sculpture, including examples by Benedetto da Rovezzano, Jacopo Tatti, Alessandro Algardi, Leone Leoni, Antonio Rosellino, Sperandio Maglioli, and Giovanni della Robbia. (*The Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, V, 1918, p. 179.) Through the generosity of the daughters of the late George A. Hearn, a series of ivory carvings, eleven Mediaeval and eight Renaissance was purchased at the sale of the Hearn collection. (*Ibid.* p. 125.)

CAMBRIDGE.—A Triptych by Bernardo Daddi.—The triptych of the Crucifixion attributed to Bernardo Daddi, which was recently acquired by the Fogg Museum, is published by M. E. GILMAN in *Art in America*, VI, 1918, pp. 211-214 (pl.). In the partially effaced inscription the altarpiece is dated 1334, a date which places the work in a period when the Siennese-Florentine master was in close contact with the art of Siena. The figures belong to an intermediate stage in Daddi's development; they form a compromise between the long, slender type of his early period and the more solid, rounded form of his later works.

MINNEAPOLIS.—Spanish Choir Stalls.—A set of three Spanish choir stalls recently purchased by the Minneapolis Institute of Arts is published in the *Bulletin*, VII, 1918, pp. 18-19 (fig.). The set is of walnut in a good state of preservation and is dated, from the style of its designs, in the last quarter of the fifteenth century.

NEW YORK.—A Picture by Pietro Cavallini.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 45-46 (2 pls.) O. SIRÉN publishes a Madonna now belonging to Mr. Otto Kahn, which is of great importance as an example of the art out of which Giotto emerged. The picture was bought in the old church at Calahorra near Miranda and was brought to New York only a few years ago. At that time it was attributed to Cimabue. But the strong influence of antique

sculpture discernible in it, as well as its other points of similarity to Pietro Cavallini's works in Rome justifies its ascription to that master. It has an added importance in being the only panel picture by the great Roman master which as yet has come to light.

A Thirteenth Century Statue.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIII, 1918, pp. 212-214 (fig.) J. B. describes a recent acquisition of the Metropolitan Museum, a French statue of the Virgin and Child, which may be dated at about the end of the thirteenth century. Its similarity to the *Vierge Dorée* of Amiens and its provenance from the same neighborhood indicate that its sculptor was strongly influenced by the ateliers of Amiens.

A Reliquary of St. Thomas Becket.—A reliquary of St. Thomas Becket in the Pierpont Morgan collection of the Metropolitan Museum is discussed in *B. Metr. Mus.* XIII, 1918, pp. 220-224 (2 figs.) by J. B., who identifies it as the work of John of Salisbury.

Gifts to the Metropolitan Museum.—A number of important woodcut books recently received as gifts are discussed by W. M. I., Jr. in *B. Metr. Mus.* XIII, 1918, pp. 130-134 (5 figs.). These books contain prints by Dürer, Schaufelein, Burgkmair, Beck, Weiditz, Altdorfer, and others. For other accessions of prints see *ibid.* pp. 155-159; 3 figs.

Renaissance Art from the Bardini Sale.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIII, 1918, pp. 144-147 (3 figs.) J. B. gives an account of the recent accessions to the Metropolitan Museum of Renaissance art from the Bardini sale. Among the pieces of special importance are a tondo coat of arms by Giovanni della Robbia, an Adoration of the Christ Child in relief in the manner of Luca della Robbia, and a bust in *carta pesta* of Sant' Antonino, Archbishop of Florence.

Four Saints by Fra Filippo Lippi.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIII, 1918, p. 232 (fig.) B. B. publishes the wing of an altarpiece purchased by the Metropolitan Museum in 1917. The painting was ascribed to Fra Filippo by Dr. Sirén, when he saw it in a storeroom of the Boston Museum. Though part of the panel has been badly damaged, it is an unusually fine example of Fra Filippo's middle period.

PHILADELPHIA.—Gothic Stone Carving.—Five fragments of Gothic stone carving added by Mr. John D. McIlhenny to the collection of Gothic carvings in the Pennsylvania Museum are described by H. B. in the *Bulletin*, XVI, 1918, pp. 8-11 (3 figs.).

PROVIDENCE.—Acquisitions of the Rhode Island School of Design.—Recent accessions to the Rhode Island School of Design include a Gothic ivory triptych, French, fifteenth century, given by Mr. E. J. Lownes (*Bulletin*, VI, pp. 25-27; fig.); a painting of The Flight into Egypt by the seventeenth century Spanish artist Francesco Collantes, the gift of Mr. Manton B. Metcalf (*ibid.* pp. 30-32; fig.); and a painting of St. Anthony Abbot by Spinello Aretino, the gift of Mr. Jesse H. Metcalf (*ibid.* pp. 34-35; fig.).

WORCESTER.—Fifteenth Century Italian Sculpture.—In the *Bulletin of the Worcester Museum*, IX, 1918, pp. 19-21 (2 figs.); pp. 42-46 (3 figs.); 52-56 (3 figs.) recent purchases by the museum of fifteenth century Italian sculpture are described by R. W. and P. J. G. They include two Florentine polychrome terracotta representations of the Madonna and Child, a tondo of the same subject in the manner of Benedetto da Maiano, the Madonna and Child and St. John in the manner of Rossellino, the Christ Child Blessing from the school

of Desiderio da Settignano, and a terracotta statue of St. Anthony by a Lombard-Venetian master, presumably a fellow-worker with Antonio Rizzo.

A Dutch Portrait of a Lady.—In the *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum*, IX, 1918, pp. 25–26 (fig.) R. W. publishes a portrait of a lady recently acquired by the museum, which is attributed to Jan Verspronck. The painting is dated 1631 and is particularly interesting for the animation noticeable in the face and hands.

ABBREVIATIONS

Abh.: Abhandlungen. *Allg. Ztg.*: Münchener Allgemeine Zeitung. *Alt. Or.*: Der alte Orient. *Am. Anthr.*: American Anthropologist. *Am. Archit.*: American Architect. *A.J.A.*: American Journal of Archaeology. *A.J. Num.*: American Journal of Numismatics. *A.J. Sem. Lang.*: American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature. *Ami d. Mon.*: Ami des Monuments. *Ant. Denk.*: Antike Denkmäler. *Ann. Arch. Anth.*: Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology. *Ann. Scuol. It. At.*: Annuario della r. Scuola Archeologica di Atene e delle Missioni Italiane in Oriente. *Arch. Anz.*: Archäologischer Anzeiger. *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.*: Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Ἐφημερίς. *Arch. Rec.*: Architectural Record. *Arch. Rel.*: Archiv für Religionswissenschaft. *Arch. Miss.*: Archives de Missions Scientifiques et Littéraires. *Arch. Stor. Art.*: Archivio Storico dell' Arte. *Athen.*: Athenaeum (of London). *Ath. Mitt.*: Mittheilungen d. k. d. Archaeol. Instituts, Athen, Abt.

Beitr. Assy.: Beiträge zur Assyriologie. *Ber. Kunsts.*: Amtliche Berichte aus den Königl. Kunstsammlungen. *Berl. Akad.*: Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. *Berl. Phil. W.*: Berliner Philologische Wochenschrift. *Bibl. Stud.*: Biblische Studien. *Bibl. World*: The Biblical World. *B. Ac. Hist.*: Boletín de la real Academia de la Historia. *B. Soc. Esp.*: Boletín de la Sociedad Española de Excursiones. *Boll. Arte*: Bollettino d'Arte. *Boll. Num.*: Bollettino Italiano di Numismatica. *Bonn. Jb.*: Bonner Jahrbücher: Jahrbücher des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande. *B.S.A.*: Annual of the British School at Athens. *B.S.R.*: Papers of the British School at Rome. *B. Arch. C. T.*: Bulletin Archéologique du Comité des Travaux hist. et scient. *B. Arch. M.*: Bulletin Archéol. du Ministère. *B.C.H.*: Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique. *B. Inst. Ég.*: Bulletin de l'Institut Égyptien (Cairo). *B. Metr. Mus.*: Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. *B. Mon.*: Bulletin Monumental. *B. Mus. Brux.*: Bulletin des Musées Royaux des arts décoratifs et industriels à Bruxelles. *B. Mus. F. A.*: Museum of Fine Arts Bulletin, Boston. *B. Num.*: Bulletin de Numismatique. *B. Soc. Anth.*: Bulletin de la Société d'Anthropologie de Paris. *B. Com. Rom.*: Bullettino d. Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma. *B. Arch. Crist.*: Bullettino di Archeologia Cristiana. *B. Pal. It.*: Bullettino di Palehnologia Italiana. *Burl. Mag.*: Burlington Magazine. *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.*: Bulletin de la Société des Antiquaires de France. *Byz. Z.*: Byzantinische Zeitschrift.

Chron. Arts: Chronique des Arts. *Cl. Phil.*: Classical Philology. *Cl. R.*: Classical Review. *C. R. Acad. Insc.*: Comptes Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres. *C.I.A.*: Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum. *C.I.G.*: Corpus Inscriptionum Graecarum. *C.I.L.*: Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum. *C.I.S.*: Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum. *Cron. B. A.*: Cronaca delle Belle Arti.

Eph. Ep.: Ephemeris Epigraphica. *Eph. Sem. Ep.*: Ephemeris für Semitische Epigraphik. *Exp. Times*: The Expository Times.

Gaz. B.-A.: Gazette des Beaux-Arts. *G.D.I.*: Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften.

I.G.: Inscriptiones Graecae (for contents and numbering of volumes, cf. *A.J.A.* IX, 1905, pp. 96-97). *I.G.A.*: Inscriptiones Graecae Antiquissimae, ed. Roehl. *I.G. Arg.*: Inscriptiones Graecae Argolidis. *I.G. Ins.*: Inscriptiones Graecarum Insularum. *I.G. Sept.*: Inscriptiones Graeciae Septentrionalis. *I.G. Sic. It.*: Inscriptiones Graecae Siciliae et Italiae.

Jb. Arch. I.: Jahrbuch d. k. d. Archäol. Instituts. *Jb. Kl. Alt.*: Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum, Geschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik. *Jb. Kunsth. Samm.*: Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses. *Jb. Phil. Päd.*: Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik (Fleckeisen's Jahrbücher). *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.*: Jahrbuch d. k. Preuss. Kunstsammlungen. *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.*: Jahreshefte des oesterreichischen Archäologischen Instituts. *J. Asiat.*: Journal Asiatique. *J.A.O.S.*: Journal of the American Oriental Society. *J. B. Archaeol.*: Journal of the British Archaeological Association. *J. B. Archit.*: Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects. *J. Bibl. Lit.*: Journal of Biblical Literature. *J.E. A.*: Journal of Egyptian Archaeology. *J. H. S.*: Journal of Hellenic Studies. *J. Int. Arch. Num.*: Διεθνὴς Ἐφημερίς τῆς

νομισματικῆς ἀρχαιολογίας, Journal international d'archéologie numismatique (Athens). *J.R.S.*: Journal of Roman Studies.

Kb. Gesamtver.: Korrespondenzblatt des Gesamtvereins der deutschen Geschichts- und Altertumsvereine. *Kunstchr.*: Kunstchronik.

Mb. Num. Ges. Wien: Monatsblatt der Numismatischen Gesellschaft in Wien. *Mh. f. Kunstw.*: Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft. *Mél. Arch. Hist.*: Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire (of French School in Rome). *Mél. Fac. Or.*: Mélanges de la Faculté d'Archéologie, Beirut. *M. Inst. Gen.*: Mémoires de l'Institut Genevois. *M. Soc. Ant. Fr.*: Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France. *M. Acc. Modena*: Mémoire della Regia Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti in Modena. *Mitt. Anth. Ges.*: Mitteilungen der anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien. *Mitt. C.-Comm.*: Mitteilungen der königlich-kaiserlichen Central-Commission für Erforschung und Erhaltung der Kunst- und historischen Denkmale. *Mitt. Or. Ges.*: Mitteilungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft. *Mitt. Pal. V.*: Mitteilungen und Nachrichten des deutschen Palästina Vereins. *Mitt. Nassau*: Mitteilungen des Vereins für nassauische Altertumskunde und Geschichtsforschung. *Mitt. Vorderas. Ges.*: Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft. *Mon. Ant.*: Monumenti Antichi (of Accad. d. Lincei). *Mon. Piot*: Monuments et Mémoires pub. par l'Acad. des Inscriptions, etc. (Fondation Piot). *Mün. Akad.*: Königlich Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, München. *Mün. Jb. Bild. K.*: Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst. *Mus. J.*: The Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania.

N. D. Alt.: Nachrichten über deutsche Altertumskunde. *Not. Scav.*: Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità. *Num. Chron.*: Numismatic Chronicle. *Num. Z.*: Numismatische Zeitschrift. *N. Arch. Ven.*: Nuovo Archivio Veneto. *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.*: Nuovo Bullettino di Archeologia cristiana

Or. Lit.: Orientalistische Literaturzeitung. *Or. Lux*: Ex Oriente Lux.

Pal. Ex. Fund.: Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund. *Πρακτικά: Πρακτικά τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἐταιρείας. Proc. Soc. Ant.*: Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries.

Rass. d'Arte: Rassegna d'Arte. *R. Tr. Eg. Assyr.*: Recueil de travaux relatifs à la philologie et à l'archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes. *Rend. Acc. Lincei*: Rendiconti d. r. Accademia dei Lincei. *Rep. f. K.*: Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft. *R. Assoc. Barc.*: Revista de la Asociacion artistico-arqueologica Barcelonesa. *R. Arch. Bibl. Mus.*: Revista de Archivos Bibliotecas, y Museos. *R. Arch.*: Revue Archéologique. *R. Art Anc. Mod.*: Revue de l'Art ancien et moderne. *R. Art Chrét.*: Revue de l'Art Chrétien. *R. Belge Num.*: Revue Belge de Numismatique. *R. Bibl.*: Revue Biblique Internationale. *R. Ép.*: Revue Épigraphique. *R. Ét. Anc.*: Revue des Études Anciennes. *R. Ét. Gr.*: Revue des Études Grecques. *R. Ét. J.*: Revue des Études Juives. *R. Hist. Rel.*: Revue de l'Histoire des Religions. *R. Num.*: Revue Numismatique. *R. Or. Lat.*: Revue de l'Orient Latin. *R. Sém.*: Revue Sémitique. *R. Suisse Num.*: Revue Suisse de Numismatique. *Rh. Mus.*: Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Neue Folge. *R. Abruzz.*: Rivista Abruzzese di Scienze, Lettere ed Arte. *R. Ital. Num.*: Rivista Italiana Numismatica. *R. Stor. Ant.*: Rivista di Storia Antica. *R. Stor. Calabr.*: Rivista Storica Calabrese. *R. Stor. Ital.*: Rivista Storica Italiana. *Röm.-Germ. Forsch.*: Bericht über die Fortschritte der Römisch-Germanischen Forschung. *Röm.-Germ. Kb.*: Römisch-Germanisches Korrespondenzblatt. *Röm. Mitt.*: Mitteilungen d. k. d. Archäol. Instituts, Röm. Abt. *Röm. Quart.*: Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte.

Sächs. Ges.: Sächsische Gesellschaft (Leipzic). *Sitzb.*: Sitzungsberichte. *S. Bibl. Arch.*: Society of Biblical Archaeology, Proceedings.

W. kl. Phil.: Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie.

Z. D. Pal. V.: Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins. *Z. Aeg. Sp. Alt.*: Zeitschrift für Aegyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde. *Z. Alttest. Wiss.*: Zeitschrift für alttestamentliche Wissenschaft. *Z. Assyr.*: Zeitschrift für Assyriologie. *Z. Bild. K.*: Zeitschrift für Bildende Kunst. *Z. Ethn.*: Zeitschrift für Ethnologie. *Z. Morgenl.*: Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlands. *Z. Morgenl. Ges.*: Zeitschrift der deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. *Z. Mün. Alt.*: Zeitschrift des Münchener Alterthumsvereins. *Z. Num.*: Zeitschrift für Numismatik.

THE SILVER CASKET OF SAN NAZARO IN MILAN

At the *Esposizione di arte sacra* held in 1898 at Turin, there appeared a galvano-plastic "facsimile of the silver box in which Pope Damasus sent to St. Ambrose the relics of the Holy Apostles, which were later deposited in the sarcophagus of S. Nazaro"—I quote the label which accompanied the box at the Exposition. The cover of the box (Fig. 1) is adorned with a scene depicting Christ enthroned among His Apostles; on the sides are the scenes of the Adoration of the Magi (Fig. 2), the Judgment of Solomon (Fig. 3), Daniel judging the Elders (Fig. 4), and a composition variously interpreted as the Three Hebrews and the Angel of the Lord in the Furnace, or the Annunciation to the Shepherds (Fig. 5).

The casket was noticed by Venturi in *L'Arte*, 1898, p. 455, as of "*importanza artistica straordinaria*," and subsequently received two special publications, one by Graeven in *Zeit. f. christl. Kunst*, XII, 1899, pp. 1-15, where it is described as a "striking example" of Constantinian silver-work, and another by De Mély in *Mon. Piot*, VII, p. 65 ff., pls. VII-IX. Since these publications it has passed into the category of stock examples of the Christian art of the fourth century: Venturi¹ gives it "the place of honor" among Early Christian reliquaries of metal. A. Riegl, in his *Spätrömische Kunstindustrie* (1901) dates the box between the epochs of Constantine and Ambrose, comparing the "Christ Enthroned" on the lid to the relief of the "Congiarium" on the Arch of Constantine. The most recent works on Early Christian art repeat the judgment: Laurent in his *L'Art chrétien primitif* (1911, II, p. 38) mentions the box as a "*chef d'oeuvre de l'orfèvrerie religieuse au IV^e siècle*"; Dalton in *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* (1911) accepts the date, and considers the relief on the lid "a most remarkable example of sculpture in metal in the period of transition between antique and later art."

¹ *Storia dell' arte italiana*, I, 1901, p. 549.



FIGURE 1.—CHRIST ENTHRONED: COVER, CASKET OF S. NAZARO.

Yet these critics have not entirely overlooked certain discrepancies which exist between this date and the style and iconography of the reliefs. Graeven mentions the fact that the type of Christ is not that of the sarcophagi, on which the Saviour appears with long locks falling on the shoulders; he admits that the heads of Peter and Paul on the lid have nothing in common with the "*frühausgebildeten Porträts*" of the Princes of the Apostles; he notes in the Adoration of the Magi the *ἅπαξ λεγόμενα*, for the fourth century, of the naked Child and of the philosopher's pallium as the costume of the Magi; he observes the lack of any parallel in Early Christian art for the Judgment of Solomon, and is momentarily troubled by the omission, in the "Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace," of the furnace and the fire.

The exceptional quality,—for the fourth century,—of the style has also been noticed. De Mély remarks that with the exception



FIGURE 2.—ADORATION OF THE MAGI: CASKET OF S. NAZARO.

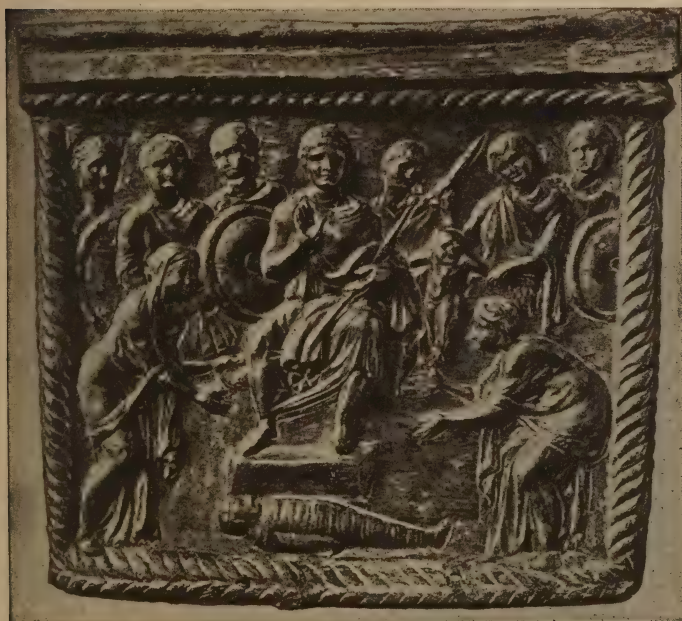


FIGURE 3.—JUDGMENT OF SOLOMON: CASKET OF S. NAZARO.

of the Adoration of the Magi, all the scenes are "essentially pagan in technique." On the lid the apostles are "simple Roman citizens," and none of the types are fixed in the form which will "soon appear on all Christian monuments." The same author notes the "evident inferiority of the two figures of the Saviour and the Virgin . . . the divine personages which he (the artist) desired to represent had not yet embodied themselves in his eyes." Riegl was impressed by the "modern" aspect resulting from the impressionistic modelling; he calls attention to the atmospheric rendering of the background and considers the strong twist given the necks "baroque" in feeling. The same word was used by a critic consulted by Graeven with reference to the head of Paul in the composition on the lid.

In spite of these peculiarities which give the box so marked an isolation among the putative products of the fourth century, its date has only once been questioned. Weis-Liebersdorf, in his *Christus- und Apostelbilder*, 1902, classed the box along with the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, the ivory pyxis of Berlin, and a sarcophagus of the Vatican, in a group which he proposed to date before the accession of Constantine and assign to the second or third century. This author is struck with the "freedom, vivacity and originality" of the work, which "has no parallel in the whole cycle of Early Christian monuments." He points out that the type of Christ in the fourth century was long-haired, while that on the box is a "commonplace Roman countenance with short smooth hair," whose lack of distinction reminds one rather of the Christs of the second century in the catacombs. The naked Child never occurs on the sarcophagi, and the Magi are invariably represented in Oriental costume not only on the sarcophagi but in the catacombs as well; the closest parallel in Early Christian art for the pallium-clad Magi of the box may be found in the half-nude figures of the Sacrament Chapels in the catacomb of Callixtus. The discrepancies with traditional iconography impress Weis-Liebersdorf as indicative of an early period when the subject cycle of Christian art was still unformed; this explains,—to him,—the use of the Judgment of Solomon, the strange Epiphany, and the omission of fire and furnace in the scene of the Three Hebrews. He finds further indication of early date in the careful execution of the Oriental costume of the "Hebrews," especially in the stripe which runs from collar to skirt in the tunic worn by one of them, a feature already noted by Graeven as recalling Hero-



FIGURE 4.—DANIEL AND THE ELDERS: CASKET OF S. NAZARO.



FIGURE 5.—THE THREE HEBREWS(?): CASKET OF S. NAZARO.

dian's description (V, 5) of the Oriental dress prescribed by Elagabalus for participants in the sacrifices to the Sun-god (219 A.D.). Other details are cited as equally symptomatic of pre-Constantinian workmanship: the "unwinged angel," recognized by Weis-Liebersdorf in the youth dressed in *exomis* and carrying a staff who appears among the "Hebrews," the staff being the ancient symbol of a herald (*ῥαβδοῦχος*); the "portraits" of Peter and Paul, wherein the Paul-type is not yet formed and the head of Peter is conceived merely as a sharp contrast thereto; lastly the book or diptych with a handle which is held by Daniel in the judgment-scene, an example of the "*codex ansatus*" mentioned in a decree of L. Helvius Agrippa of the year 68 A.D., and appearing again in the hand of one of the standing figures in the second-century reliefs of the Rostra balustrades.

Weis-Liebersdorf is most persuasive when he compares the vivacity of the work on the box, in which "statics seem to be exchanged for movement," with the dry precision of Constantinian work. But his "details" are not convincing as evidence for early date. He ignores the point made by Graeven, that the beardless head of Christ is more akin to the close cropped beardless portraits of the Constantinian epoch than to those of the first century, since it is parallel to the "Solomon" of the judgment-scene, and the latter wears a Constantinian gemmed diadem. It is very well to assume originality in the early conceptions of Christian scenes, but would the artist have gone so far, in depicting the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, as to leave out the essential furnace and the fire? They are never omitted in any other example of the scene. Again, would an "unwinged angel," be he never so antique, be dressed like a peasant in an *exomis*? The same objection applies, by the way, to De Mély's interpretation of this scene (Fig. 5) as an "Annunciation to the Shepherds," which adds a further complication in that the "shepherds" are dressed in notched chitons (save one) and Phrygian caps, *i.e.* in the customary costume of the Magi or of the Three Hebrews, while the characteristic *exomis* of the shepherd is worn by the "angel" alone. Again, these notched chitons are well-known to students of Early Christian iconography; it is true that they derive from "Hellenistic models," but the conventional form of triangular scallops which they here assume can only be paralleled on monuments of the fourth cen-

ture and later.¹ The "marks of antiquity" manifested by the naked Child and the half-nude Magi of the Epiphany, as well as the contradiction of tradition in the types given to Peter and



FIGURE 6.—CASKET OF PROECTA: BRITISH MUSEUM.

Paul, may be explained in quite another manner than that proposed by Weis-Liebersdorf, as will be seen later. The rope border of the box, or a very similar motif, is to be found on the

¹ Examples of notched chitons: Arles, sarcophagus (Le Blant, *Sarc. d'Arles*, pl. XXI); St.-Gilles, sarcophagus (Le Blant, *Sarc. de la Gaule*, pl. XXXVI, 2); Rome, Doors of Sta. Sabina (Garrucci, VI, pl. 499, 3); Milan, ivory (Garr. VI, pl. 455); Nevers, ivory (Haseloff, *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.* XXIV, p. 52).

Projecta casket in the British Museum (Fig. 6), the silver casket from Brivio (Fig. 10),¹ and a silver capsella from Africa,²—all works of the fourth or fifth century. The nimbus on the head of Christ may, it is true, be found on the heads of divinities at Pompeii (e.g. a fresco in the Casa di Apollo), and designates the emperor on Trajanic reliefs,³ but in spite of Weis-Liebersdorf's attempt to minimize this detail, it nevertheless remains the fact that there is no pre-Constantinian monument yet certified on which the nimbus in its Christian use appears. The book or diptych with a handle (*codex ansatus*) is mentioned in the decree of 68, and occurs on the Rostra balustrades, but on the box it seems to be used as the emblem of a magistrate, and the earliest parallel for such employment of the motif is found in the *Notitia Dignitatum*, where we find it as the symbol of the *Magister Scriniorum*.⁴

The student of iconography will find a decisive objection to Weis-Liebersdorf's early dating in the wine-jars and baskets of loaves that stand in front of the enthroned Christ. Here the loaves and wine are obviously symbols, detached from the scenes in which they first appear in the catacombs and on the sarcophagi, and standing as types of the Eucharistic elements. Christ enthroned amid His apostles, expounding the doctrine of the Eucharist through the symbols of the bread of the Multiplication and the wine of the Miracle at Cana is a scene that presupposes a long acquaintance with the meaning of the two miracles. Such a scene, contrary to Graeven's implication,⁵ would be unique in Early Christian art; the two miracles are often juxtaposed, or their complementary character is indicated by a symmetrical disposition, but they or their elements are never combined in one symbolic complex after the manner used on the lid of the casket of S. Nazaro. For that matter the two miracles are not related at all until the fourth century and there is no example of the Miracle of Cana until the third.

¹ Lauer, *Mon. Piot*, XIII, pl. XIX.

² *B. Arch. Crist.* 1887, pls. VIII-IX. Cf. also the similar borders on one of the Grado boxes (*Ibid.* 1872, pls. X, XI) and on the silver vase from Emesa in the Louvre (*B. Soc. Ant. Fr.* 1892, p. 239).

³ Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, I, p. 59.

⁴ Seeck, *Notitia Dignitatum*, p. 43.

⁵ *Zeit. christl. Kunst*, XI, 1899, p. 8: "Wegen der Beziehung zur Eucharistie war es beliebt die Wunder der Brodvermehrung und der Verwandlung des Wassers in Wein zu vereinigen."

Behold us then back in the fourth century,—or later! Are we then to accept the casket, with Graeven and De Mély,¹ as “at least as old as the church of S. Nazaro,” which was founded before 395? The date in the fourth century, as we have seen, has been universally accorded to the casket, save by Weis-Liebersdorf, and the evidence produced by this writer for an earlier dating is not conclusive. Yet there are many points of iconography and style which militate against the accepted opinion,—some of them already noticed by Graeven and De Mély,—and there is certainly reason enough to review with care the archaeological evidence on which the date is mainly based. This evidence is as follows.

The church of S. Nazaro was founded some time in the fourth century, and originally dedicated to the Holy Apostles, receiving its present dedication to St. Nazarius *ca.* 395 when the remains of that saint were transferred to the church. The church contained, as we learn from Paulinus’ “Life of Ambrose” and a metrical inscription ascribed to the great bishop,² the relics of the apostles. The identification of these “apostles” with Peter and Paul dates from Landolfo the Elder, writing in the twelfth century, who adds that St. Simplicianus brought them from Rome. I do not know from what source De Mély derives his statement that the relics of the apostles were placed “*dans l’urne où furent renfermés les restes de Saint-Nazaire.*” A translation of the body of St. Nazarius took place in the eleventh century before 1067, according to Landolfo the Elder;³ the whole basilica was destroyed by fire in 1075.

¹ De Mély arrives at the same date by comparing the pose of the “angel” in what he calls the “Annunciation to the Shepherds” with the type of standing figure resting one hand on standard or spear, which appears on the medallion of Constantius II at Vienna (an. 350), the disc of Valentinian at Geneva (an. 370), the ivory diptych of Honorius at Aosta (an. 406), and the miniatures of the Iliad in the Ambrosiana at Milan. It is unfortunate that De Mély selected so stereotyped a motif on which to base conclusions as to date. The “evolution” of the type which he traces through this series of monuments is hardly visible to an impartial observer, and the single thing with which one is impressed after examining De Mély’s series is the persistence in the type of the antique rhythm, which in the case of the figure on the casket is sharply broken by a knock-kneed attitude which will be discussed later.

² Forcella e Seletti: *Iscrizioni cristiane in Milano*, No. 229.

³ Porter: *Lombard Architecture*, II, p. 635; the evidence for the date of the church summarized by Porter shows no authority for the “*ca.* 382” assumed by Graeven.

Carlo Borromeo restored the church in 1578, and at that time conducted a general excavation of relics, the results of which are described by an eye-witness, Carolus a Basilica Petri, in his life of Carlo Borromeo and his History of Milan, from which I have selected¹ and gathered in an appendix to this article the passages descriptive of the finds of 1578. From his description we learn that the excavations under the altar at the crossing of the church brought to light the remains of Ambrose's successors in the see of Milan,—Venerius, Glycerius, Marolus, and Lazarus, —together with other uncertain bones deposited in rough stone receptacles (*labris*); in the midst of these (*in medio loco*) was found a silver box (*arcula argentea*) containing pieces of cloth (*quaedam velamina*) and a round receptacle (*vasculum rotundum*), inside of which was a fragment of bone with a cloth (*cum velo*); the *vasculum* was inscribed with the acclamation: "*Daedalia vivas in Christo.*" Carlo Borromeo ordered the contents of the box to be carried in solemn procession and then replaced in their original container (*eodem receptaculo recondi*). The remains of St. Nazarius were found in another place, *sub altari praecipuo ad caput ecclesiae*, together with the bodies of two unknown saints.

So much we learn from the "Life." From the "History" and its accompanying "Fragmenta," we find that the lock of the silver casket was gone, and that the receptacle containing the fragment of bone was a sphere or globe *ex auricalco*, of the size of a fist, and made in two equal parts joined together; its contents here are noted as "*velamina et parum ossis.*" "All these things," Carolus says, "were deposited again by S. Carlo with the relics of the martyrs," an operation, however, which did not take place immediately, for the relics were preserved in sealed receptacles until the following year, when they were the object of a solemn translation on the occasion of the fifth provincial synod held by Carlo Borromeo in 1579, and were finally interred under the new high altar of the church.

On the 10th of May, 1894, the fifteenth centenary of the first translation of the body of St. Nazarius was celebrated, and on this occasion excavations were carried out under the high altar at the instance of P. Pozzi, the *parrocco* of the church. At a

¹ I wish here to express my very great indebtedness to Mr. J. M. Rigg, of the British Record Office, who kindly undertook to transcribe and read the proof of these citations from the volume of Carolus' two works in the British Museum. I have been unable as yet to find copies in this country.

depth of about a metre a large granite urn was found measuring 2.30 x 1.70 m., and closed with a heavy stone cover. Removal of the cover disclosed a pluviale of red silk embroidered with gold which when touched dissolved in dust; below this and resting on a gridiron were four lead caskets and the silver one with which we are concerned. One of the lead caskets, according to the inscriptions, contained the bones of St. Nazarius; the other three held the remains of Venerius, Marolus, Glycerius, and Lazarus. Inside the silver casket was found a metal plate bearing the inscription: *Reliquiae SS. Apostolorum*. A silver¹ ball was also found, corresponding in description and inscription with the *vasculum* of Carolus a Basilica Petri (although it also bore a monogramme between the letters A and Ω), but in this case the ball was found not in the casket but beneath the gridiron by itself.

These details of the excavations of 1894 are drawn through Graeven from what is apparently our sole authority, viz. Pozzi's account, entitled "*Breve Storia di S. Nazaro e della scoperta delle sue Reliquie*." This brochure, which was in the hands of both Graeven and De Mély, seems to have had no general circulation, and I have not been able as yet to secure a copy. Pozzi also had the facsimile of the box made which was sent to the Exposition at Turin,—it is somewhat curious that the monument did not appear at the Exposition of Christian Art at Orvieto in 1896. Photographs also were executed, but apparently from the facsimile, for De Mély, who saw the original box at S. Nazaro, cites among the differences between the replica and the original the incised lines which sharpen the contours of the facsimile; these incised lines are plainly marked on the plates which both he and Graeven publish from the photographs.² The other points of the original noted by De Mély are the "delicate roguery" of the figures and their supple forms, the gilding of the draperies, and the freedom of the rope ornament of the borders.

There is no reason to suppose that the silver box which the eyewitness of 1578 describes was of other date than that of the remains with which it was found, for while the relics of St.

¹ Carolus' "brass" (*auricalco*) might easily be a mistaken impression of old silver.

² The illustrations of the box in the present article are taken from De Mély's article in *Mon. Piot*, VII.

Nazarius were translated in the eleventh century, it is evident from the account of Carolus a Basilica Petri that the bones among which the silver box was found showed no signs of careful reinterment, indicative of translation, as was the case with the relics of St. Nazarius (see Appendix), and although the loss of the lock of the box shows that the burial place had been disturbed, there is nothing to indicate that the box was inserted subsequently to the original deposition. The archaeological question before us, then, is whether the early box found in 1578 is the same as that now preserved at S. Nazaro, and exhibited in facsimile at the Exposition of Turin,—a question which, in view of the ecclesiastical interest involved in the authenticity and early date of relics and reliquaries, demands an ultra-careful sifting of the evidence.

In favor of identity we have the discovery of the box, according to Pozzi, among the relics of the martyrs under the high altar of S. Nazaro where the account of Carolus a Basilica Petri indicates that all the things found in 1578 were deposited. Again there is Carlo Borromeo's order that the contents of the box should be replaced in the same receptacle, which indicates that the receptacle was deposited along with its contents. But against this we note that the silver ball, which was the most conspicuous of the contents of the box of 1578, was outside of the box of 1894. Lastly there is the grave objection to the identity of the existing box with that of 1578 which lies in the fact that Carolus says not a word about the most conspicuous feature of the present casket, namely the *reliefs*. And this is the more remarkable because the good prelate is at some pains to prove the authenticity of the fragments of *brandea* or napkins found within the box as apostolic relics (see Appendix), and would scarcely have overlooked the argument to be derived from the composition on the lid, with the prominence there given to the Princes of the Apostles. He notes the inscription and technique of the silver ball. It is inconceivable that he should not have noted the reliefs, if he had seen them. With this curious discrepancy in mind, it cannot be said that the case for the identity of the box discovered in 1894 with that described by Carolus, is complete.

We revert, then, to the *iconography* and *style* of the reliefs as the final criteria for the date of the casket, and it is safe to say, that had former writers depended on these criteria alone, they would never have assigned the casket to the Early Christian period. We have

already reviewed the points of *iconography* that preclude the pre-Constantinian origin advocated by Weis-Liebersdorf. As for the fourth century, there is not a single scene on the box which is consistent with that date, or indeed with Early Christian iconography at all. It is impossible to find in Early Christian art a parallel to the Christ enthroned among His apostles on the lid, with the fatal adjuncts to the scene of the bread and wine. These are of course symbolic of the Eucharist and detached from their original scenes, the Miracle of the Loaves and Fishes and the Miracle of Cana. Their use here, as a kind of text from which the Saviour expounds the meaning of the Sacrament, gives us a complex of developed and sophisticated symbolism for which there exists no parallel in Early Christian art, not only in the primitive years to which Weis-Liebersdorf would assign the box, but later. The Judgment of Solomon does not appear in the early period; according to Longpérier¹ there is no example on unquestioned Christian monuments until the ninth century. The Judgment of Daniel is equally unique, in the form it assumes on the casket. Daniel in Early Christian art appears as the protagonist in only one scene,—the Den of Lions,—and is merely an accessory in the Susanna stories. He thus appears as a subordinate figure in the first Susanna cycle of the Capella Greca,² and we meet him in the character of judge for the first time in the catacomb of Callixtus,³ in a fresco of the third century of which Susanna is again the chief figure. He appears on sarcophagi of Gaul⁴ again in company with Susanna, and finally we find him on the Brescia casket,⁵ judging, not the elders as here, but Susanna herself. The absence of Susanna from the scene on the silver casket is thus in marked contradiction to the Early Christian handling of the story.

Everyone who has tried to interpret the group of the three orants in Phrygian caps, and the bare-headed youth carrying a staff, has run into difficulties, and we have already mentioned those which beset De Mély's bizarre interpretation of the scene

¹ *R. Arch.*, XXI, 1880, p. 242 ff. He does not regard the example on the Cuccio Cohen gem as Christian, and this is certainly not to be predicated of the well-known fresco of Pompeii.

² Wilpert, *Pitture delle Catacombe romane*, p. 334, pl. 14.

³ Wilpert, *op. cit.* p. 335, pl. 86.

⁴ Narbonne, Le Blant, *Sarcophages de la Gaule*, p. 132, pl. XLIV, 1; Arles, Le Blant, *Sarcophages d'Arles*, p. 15.

⁵ Graeven, *Elfenbeinwerke in Italien*, no. 11.

as an "Annunciation to the Shepherds." To see in the group the miracle of the Three Hebrews is no less impossible, in view of the absence of the furnace and the fire, indispensable signs of locality which no other representation of the episode omits. Other renderings indeed add a fourth figure to the Three Hebrews; we find for instance a bearded man among the three youths on a fragment of a fourth-century sarcophagus published by Stuhlfauth,¹ and a beardless youth, costumed in tunic and mantle like the figure of the sarcophagus, on a marble relief from Rome in the Berlin Museum.² A figure similarly clothed occasionally appears upon the sarcophagi, either beside the furnace, or standing within it between two orant youths.³ Among the "lamb-scenes" in the spandrels of the sarcophagus of Junius Bassus the episode of the Furnace shows us four lambs which evidently represent the Three Hebrews and the Angel or Son of God. In the case of the other examples various interpretations have been given to the extra figure; Wulff calls him an angel, while Stuhlfauth, after canvassing the possibility of a portrait of the defunct, finally decides that the bearded head is more appropriate to God. In no case do we meet with so inexplicable an adjunct to the scene as the beardless youth of the casket, dressed in *exomis* and carrying a staff, and in no way suggesting either the angel of the Lord or the Son of God.

But if the parallels be lacking for the more than doubtful "Fiery Furnace," what shall we say of the "Adoration of the Magi"? Where in Christian art, to say nothing of the early period, can we discover an Epiphany in which the Magi appear as two beardless youths half-clad, like philosophers, in the pallium alone?

If we limit our comparison to the early period, discrepancies multiply. Instances of two Magi instead of three may indeed be found in two frescoes of the catacomb of SS. Pietro e Marcelino, excluding the dubious examples afforded by another catacomb fresco in Domitilla and a mosaic of the arch of S. Maria Maggiore.⁴ E. B. Smith, the latest writer to discuss the iconography of Early Christian Epiphanies, reluctantly classifies the scene on the S. Nazaro casket in his "Palestinian-Coptic" group, by reason of the frontal Madonna and the symmetrical composi-

¹ *N. Bull. Arch. Crist.* 1897, pl. V.

² Wulff: *Altchristliche Bildwerke; Berlin Mus. Cat.*, Teil I, pl. III, No. 21.

³ Garrucci: *Storia dell' arte crist.* V, pls. 320, 1; 334, 2; 384, 1.

⁴ E. B. Smith, *Early Christian Iconography*, p. 41, Table II.

tion. Here the analogy ends, however, for the scene is otherwise wholly unlike the Adorations of the Monza ampullae or any other of the characteristic monuments of the group. No angels appear, the Magi are beardless and two instead of three in number, and the Madonna wears no nimbus. Waiving this classification, we find no place to put the scene on the casket among the traditional types of Epiphanies which were maintained with such surprising consistency throughout the course of Early Christian Art. In none do we find, as here, the naked Child and a throng of spectators behind the Virgin.

And now as to *style*. It must be a surprise to anyone who has read and admired the "*Spätrömische Kunstindustrie*" that its author, after noting the "modern" modelling of the figures on the casket, the atmospheric background, and the "baroque" twist of the bodies, should still have accepted without question the dating in the fourth century. It is to Riegl that we owe our only clear exposition of the fourth century style, and the characteristics thereof, which he has isolated, are hopelessly at variance with the very distinctive style of these reliefs. The Projecta casket (Fig. 6), the fine fourth century monument possessed by the British Museum, will illustrate our point. Here we have the principle of isolation fully applied whereby no figure overlaps another and the forms detach themselves from the neutral background with uncompromising clearness. To this end, which Riegl has shown to be the chief object of fourth century relief, the artist thrusts the figures into strong frontality. The general aspect of such sculpture may be summed up in Riegl's word "crystalline,"—the disintegration of composition and form, in the interest of isolation, leaves every figure, and even its parts, distinct one from the other. This centrifugal tendency, paralyzing the articulate rhythm of the antique, finally succeeds in producing those mannikins of disjointed movement familiar to all students of Early Christian sarcophagi and mosaics, and well illustrated by the Brivio box in the Louvre (Fig. 10.).

The reliefs of the St. Nazaro casket are quite different. Overlapping figures are the rule, and the heads of many of the figures instead of sharply defining themselves against the background seem to melt away within it to give the atmospheric effect which Riegl noted. The mechanical puppets of Constantinian times are here replaced by living beings in a variety of postures, fully

articulated, and individual of movement. The nude, shunned in the fourth century, is courted by the sculptor of the casket, who shows in his constant appeal to the sense of touch none of the optic illusionism which made the fourth century artist represent his figures as they might appear from a relatively distant point of view. The surfaces are fully modelled; we miss the flatness of the fourth century reliefs, and our artist slips from one plane to another with an indifference which would have been incomprehensible to a Constantinian workman, used as he was to a rigid demarcation of strata in reliefs containing a secondary row of figures. Instead of the prevalent abstraction of the fourth century, we have here self-expressive figures with a frankly material appeal.

There is no question that De Mély was right in saying that all the scenes are "essentially pagan in technique." Pagan they are, but hardly with the paganism of the ancient world. This was unconsciously realized by several observers, by Riegl, for example, when he spoke of the modern impressionism of the modelling, by Graeven's critic who felt a baroque element in the postures, and especially by Weis-Liebersdorf in his remark that in these reliefs "statics seem to be exchanged for movement."

"Static," it is hardly necessary to point out, is the word which best describes the net aesthetic effect of the antique, and connotes the quality which most distinguishes it from modern work. On the other hand, these reliefs, sketchy though they be, and no doubt the more so for this impressionism, aim by movement at an emotional effect that is conspicuously absent from ancient sculpture. Every figure is an attempt at poignant feeling, and the means by which this is procured are not at all Hellenic, nor even Hellenistic. Where, for instance, will one find in the antique so knock-kneed a "stance" as that of the truculent older "elder" before Daniel? Where again such arbitrary modelling of a muscular torso though the drapery as in the staff-bearer of the "Fiery Furnace" or the youthful "elder"? Where such violent counterpoint as in the figure of "Peter" on the cover? The lack of rhythm in the postures, the vigorous twist given to the heads, as in the case of "Paul," the exaggerated forelock found upon the youthful heads in profile, the misty, unclassic background which sometimes half engulfs the spectators in a fluid *ambiente* charged with feeling,—these are devices never seen in sculpture before the time of Donatello.

The name suggests a solvent for our problem of style. It is in Donatellian relief that we have seen these half-figures of youths or angels in the background, partly in relief and partly in *stiacciato*, with half-sketched bodies dissolving in air. Donatellian also are the bullet heads, the tufted forelocks, the broken rhythm of the pose, and the varied distortions by which is gained an individuality of gait or pose or gesture. And as a matter of fact, parallels for the figures on the casket, notably lacking in Hellenis-



FIGURE 7.—HERCULES ASCRIBED TO BERTOLDO: BERLIN.

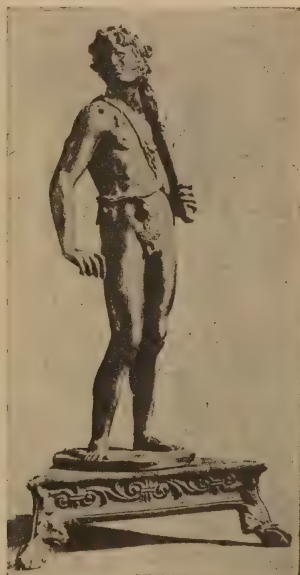


FIGURE 8.—HERALDIC FIGURE: MORGAN COLLECTION.

tic work, begin to appear when one looks through the output of the various ateliers which followed Donatello's style.

We have for instance, for the vigorous figure who stands with pinioned hands at Daniel's left (Fig. 4), a fair parallel in the Hercules ascribed to Bertoldo in the Berlin Museum (Fig. 7);¹ note the similarity of structure which arises from the knock-kneed, hipshot pose of both the figures, and the broken rhythm resulting from the wide spacing of the feet. A closer resemblance exists

¹ Bode: *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der christl. Epochen*, III, No. 36, pl. 13. For this and the following parallel, I am indebted to Mr. Maitland Belknap, of the Princeton Graduate School.

between an heraldic figure of the young Hercules (Fig. 8) in the Morgan Collection¹ and the youth to Daniel's right; we have here to do not only with externals,—poise of the head, twist of the body, etc.—but also with a curious community of feeling and conception. Further reminders of the style of the casket may be found in Bellano's work: I may cite the heads of the angels in his Deposition in S. Gaetano at Padua,² which may be compared with the heads in the background of our Epiphany, and the similar handling of the head of "Peter" on the lid, and of the heads in the De Castro monument in the Chiesa dei Servi, Padua.³

Such affinities are by no means identities, but they suffice to show, I think, that the style of the casket is not antique but Renaissance. At the same time the greater sophistication shown in the reliefs and the occasional echoes of the violence and discord of Michelangelo remind one of the sixteenth rather than the fifteenth century which produced the parallels already noted, and this in spite of the evident carelessness with which the reliefs are done. This carelessness, exemplified by such lapses as the missing left leg of the Magus at the Madonna's right, and the summary rendering of the feet of "Paul" on the lid, inclines one to search for similar work in the Plaquettes, those casual studio pieces affected chiefly by the North Italian sculptors, in which they gave vent to their bizarre conceptions of the classic, and practised experiments with the nude and movement, untrammelled by the demands of a finished composition. The technique of the plaquettes of the sixteenth century, sketchy in drawing, careless of finished perfection, with a misty and impressionistic background, has much to remind us of the casket reliefs. The marked tendency of these little pieces to give a pronounced pagan turn to Christian subjects is also in the spirit of the casket; one of Moderno's plaques depicts the nude David wearing a classic helmet and leaning against the pedestal of a statue of Mars.⁴ Another shows us an Adoration of the Magi in which one of the Magi is half-clothed, as here, in a mantle.⁵ Still another represents the Madonna enthroned upon a pedestal, flanked by groups of saints,⁶

¹ Bode, *op. cit.* pl. XII; *Cat. J. P. Morgan Coll., Italian Bronzes*, I, pl. VI.

² Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VI, p. 490, fig. 322.

³ *Arch. stor. dell' arte*, 1891, p. 404.

⁴ Molinier, *Les Plaquettes*, I, No. 158.

⁵ Molinier, *op. cit.* No. 168.

⁶ Molinier, *op. cit.* No. 166.

of which the foremost on either side is a completely pagan figure, the one nude, the other clothed in classic armor. The attitude of such figures, characteristic of the High Renaissance, with their hands thrust behind their backs to give compactness to their bodies, reminds one strongly of the two "elders" before Daniel.

Another point that must impress the most casual observer of the casket is the un-classic nature of the beards, which on the

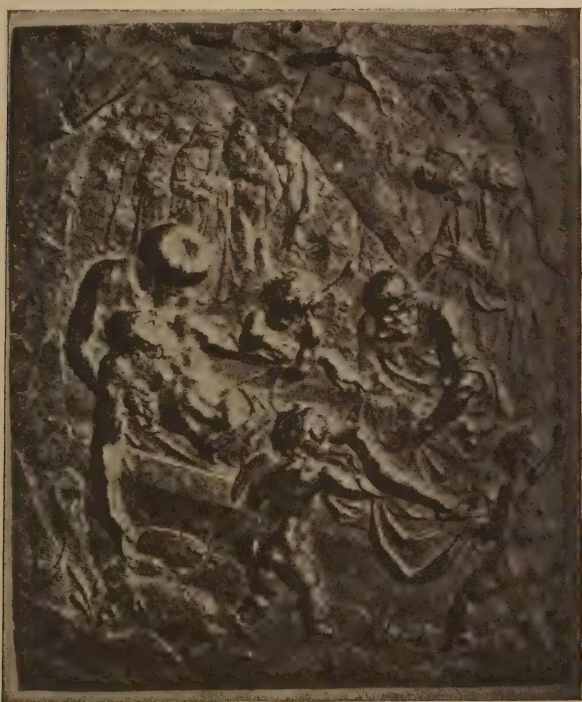


FIGURE 9.—THE ENTOMBMENT: PLAQUETTE, BARDINI COLLECTION.

other hand are quite in character with the latter half of the sixteenth century, being at times of the square Spanish style *à la* Charles V, which one sees in the statue of Gian Giacomo Medici¹ on his tomb at Milan (Leone Leoni), and again in a head appearing in a Deposition which adorns a plaquette of the Bardini Collection (Fig. 9) and is a striking parallel to the older "elder" of the Daniel scene.²

¹ E. Plon, *Leone Leoni e Pompeo Leoni*, pl. XVI.

² *The Stefano Bardini Collection*, N. Y. 1918, No. 233. The sale catalogue lists the plaque as of the "fifteenth century," but I think that the illustration here given will be enough to convince the beholder that it is not of so early a date.

We thus may find in the reliefs of the casket reminders of the High Renaissance in details such as these, as well as in the frequent violence of contrasted action or pose which indicates that the artist knew the works of Michelangelo. The sixteenth century, however, reveals itself most of all in the scheme which the sculptor of the casket has adopted in four out of his five compositions. This central seated figure flanked by groups on either side is not only the disposition used for "Madonna and Saints," but also for *Dispute* and *Sante Conversazioni*, an echo of which we seem to have in the preaching Christ on the lid. We find it also in compositions of a non-religious character, as in the *repoussé* reliefs on an iron buckler and a casque in the Stein collection,¹ and the silver *repoussé* in the Vatican ascribed by Plon² to Leone Leoni, representing the "Apotheosis of Charles V," where the low throne accorded the central figure makes the scene even more like the reliefs of the casket. This last parallel suggests the Leoni atelier at Milan as a possible source for our reliefs. Leone Leoni was working in Milan in 1578-79, engaged on the models for the statues which his son Pompeo and Jacopo da Trezzo were executing in Spain for the high altar of San Lorenzo el Real in the Escorial.³ It is true that the drapery-formulae used by Leone in the Virgin of the Crucifixion in the Escorial altar remind one of the draperies of the two women in the Judgment of Solomon, and that a good parallel for the head of Paul on the casket is actually to be found in the Paul of the Escorial. But there is not enough in common between our sketchy compositions and Leone's grandiose works to warrant an attribution. Possibly further search would discover a relation to the productions of the minor Milanese silversmiths of Leone's time and milieu.

The aim of this paper is hardly to assign the casket its final place in the history of sculpture, but merely to show that it is not Early Christian. I have indicated above the signs that point to the sixteenth century, but we have also seen certain things that remind one of Donatellian tradition. Here is a contradiction which suggests interesting possibilities. Was the artist some belated follower of the Donatellian tradition, living in the last half

¹ Giraud, *Arts du Métal*, pl. XXX.

² Plon, *Benvenuto Cellini*, pl. XXXIV.

³ E. Plon, *Leone Leoni et Pompeo Leoni*, pp. 200 ff.

of the sixteenth century and thus reflecting as well the genius of Michelangelo? Or,—and here lies a possibility which must be canvassed,—is the casket a modern substitution¹ done by someone who tried to gain a flavor of antiquity and succeeded only in



FIGURE 10.—THE CASKET OF BRIVIO: LOUVRE.

producing a *pasticcio* of late and early Renaissance? These are questions which may be left to the specialist in Italian sculpture.

For so far as I can see, the archaeological evidence leaves these questions open. The box which Carolus a Basilica Petri saw ex-

¹I may note that Strzygowski, in his review of Graeven's publication (*Byz. Zeit.* 1899, p. 714), remarks that "*seine (the casket's) Darstellungen sind so eigenartig, dass man, wenn es im Handel aufgetaucht wäre, wohl unzweifelhaft zunächst an eine der beliebten modernen Fälschungen in Edelmetall gedacht hätte.*"

humed in 1578 was not decorated with the reliefs which we have been discussing, for it is inconceivable that his careful description should have omitted to mention the reliefs when they might have supported his earnest endeavor to prove the contents of the box the relics of the apostles. The border on the casket is of Early Christian character, for while it differs from that of the Projecta casket it is very much like the border of the Brivio box in the Louvre (Fig. 10). It is thus conceivable that the S. Nazaro box with its border is really old, and that the reliefs were later additions. On the other hand it is unlikely that old silver would have lent itself to *repoussé*, and in two cases the relief overlaps the border (a foot of one of the women in the Judgment of Solomon; right arm of a background figure on the lid), which indicates that both border and relief were done at the same time. What seems to have happened is that a new box was substituted for the old one found in 1578, and in the new one the border was either reproduced from the old box, or imitated from some such similar example as the Brivio casket. In the one case we must suppose that the new box was substituted at the time of Carlo Borromeo, in the other that it is modern, which seems on the whole less probable.

The reliefs show some attempt to achieve an early character in details, such as the Constantinian diadem worn by Solomon, the *codex ansatus* carried by Daniel, and the beardless Peter.¹ Other details show the same attempt, but also betray the ignorance of the artist. Thus in the "Furnace" scene he puts the notched chiton on two of the "Hebrews," but not on the third, and he entirely misses the proper rendering of the orant gesture, which in Early Christian art projects the hands from the body instead of holding them in front of it as here. He shows his ignorance most in his inability to choose a set of scenes wholly within the Early Christian cycle, and to make those which do belong within that cycle conform in any essential respect to traditional types.

¹ This beardless head can be interpreted as a deliberate archaism, and as such might well have been suggested by Carlo Borromeo himself. He had issued an order to his clergy not to wear beards, and Sala (*Doc. circa la vita e le gesta di S. Carlo Borromeo*, II, p. 199, No. 167) lists a letter of the archbishop (June 3, 1578) in which he defends the order by citing many beardless portraits of St. Ambrose.

APPENDIX

(Extracts from accounts of Carlo Borromeo's excavations in S. Nazaro in the year 1578.)

De Vita et Rebus Gestis Caroli S. R. E. Cardinalis, tituli S. Praxedis, Archiepiscopi Mediolani Libri Septem. Carolo A Basilicapetri Praepos. General. Congreg. Cleric. Regul. S. Pauli Auctore. Ingolstadii. Anno Domini MDXCII.

pp. 196-7:

Concilium autem ornavit translatio reliquiarum Basilicae Apostolorum; quemadmodum et translatio ipsa ex Episcoporum praesentia valde illustrata est. Moverat eas Carolus superiore anno; cum canonici antiquam aedem instaurare, atque ornare vellent. Sed in loco destinato non reposuerat, ut honore celebritateque maiore, cum haberetur concilium, per urbem gestarentur; et omnino earum esset translatio splendidior et ad populum pie excitandum efficacior. Cum igitur altare praecipuum ex media ecclesia tolleretur, invenimus sub eo, quemadmodum a maioribus traditum erat, corpora sanctorum Antistitum nostrorum, Venerii, Clicerii, Maroli atque Lazari; non satis commode tamen, aut distincte, ac in rudibus quibusdam lapideis labris posita, alia ossa incerta rudiis etiam habita: in medio loco arculam argenteam: et in ea quaedam velamina; vasculumque rotundum, in quo ossis frustulum itidem cum velo erat. Collocatas in hac aede pridem sanctorum Apostolorum reliquias Paulinus scribit; ea de caussa Basilicam Apostolorum appellatam significans: S. Simplicianum vero eas Roma attulisse quidam tradiderunt; quem quidem multum, antequam Episcopus esset, peregrinatum esse, sanctus ipse Ambrosius testatur: perpetuo igitur existimatum est eas reliquias sub hoc fuisse altari; atque adeo, ut fit, etiam vulgatum, certa ipsius Apostoli Petri ossa ibi recondi. Ea nos cum hoc tempore invenire gestiremus, et in argentea capsula, cum ea demum apparuisset, esse crederemus; velaminibus tantum repertis, haesitavimus tristes. Sed quod inventum in ea est, quidquid dubii afferretur, Carolus coelesti aliquo motus instinctu, tamquam Apostolica pignora iussit nihilominus haberi; et primo loco suis, sociorumque Episcoporum humeris in sacra pompa portari: tum eodem receptaculo recondi. At aliquot post annis memoria cum repeterem veterum Romanorum Pontificum in reliquiis tradendis consuetudinem; recordatus sum, reliquias Apostolorum petentibus, non ossa aliqua, quae ne aspicere quidem auderent, sed brandeum, hoc est velamen quoddam in pixide conclusum tradidisse. Cuius consuetudinis S. Gregorius testis est locupletissimus in epistola ad Constantiam Augustam. Et Joannes, eius vitae scriptor, qui pluribus post eum seculis vixit, loco brandei postero tempore particulas vestium quarundam ex altari S. Joannis Constantinianae Basilicae, pro reliquiis, petentibus datas affirmat. Hanc Romanam consuetudinem, tam sancte testatam, si quis respiciat; neque aliquid ex Apostolorum corporibus Roma potuisse afferri tempore quo Paulinus demonstrat, credibile duxerit, et haec velamina reliquias esse a Paulino demonstratas recte, ni fallor, iudicaverit. Quae quidem an sint veneratione digna, illud declarat, quod cum S. Leo primum, mox etiam Gregorius huiusmodi pannos incredulorum caussa incidissent, sanguinem mirabiliter effuderunt. Cum autem in rotundo vasculo incisas litteras vidissem huiusmodi, Daedalia vivas in Christo; putavi aliquid ea in re esse quod ad clarissimam quoque praestantissimamque virginem Mediolanensem Manliam Dae-

daliam pertineret; quae cum per ea tempora vixerit, earum reliquiarum partem fortasse contulit.

pp. 197-8:

Sub alio item praecipuo altari ad caput ecclesiae constituto, quod itidem tollendum, et commodiore loco constituendum fuit, celeberrimi martyris Nazarii, unde praesens nomen ecclesia accepit, reliquias invenimus: quae alte sub terram inter tenues quasdem, et politas marmoreas tabulas conditae erant . . . neque enim conicere potuimus, corpus ex eo tempore motum esse quo illud Ambrosius condidit. apud loculum sancti Nazarii arca inventa est, duorum corporum ossa continens; quae quorum fuerint, ignoramus. . . . A latere dextro ecclesiae, fere sub Loco Evangelii legendi, aliam arcam aperuimus; quae parvulo sacello, altarique munita sancti Ulrici, sive ut alii, Arderici vulgo appellata, a multis praecipuo cultu frequenter visebatur: . . . invenimus in arca indumentis Pontificalibus ornatum corpus. . . . Has igitur reliquias Carolus inventas pie manibus suis collegit. . . . Absoluto autem, ut dicebamus, anno insequenti, episcoporum concilio . . . commemoratas reliquias omnes collocavit sub novo magno altari: praeter episcopales illas ab ecclesiae latere dextro ablatas.

Caroli Basilicae petri Episcopi Novariensis Brevis Historia Provinciae Mediolanensis ab initio ad Christum natum et XI priorum Archiepiscoporum Mediolanensium vitae. Mediolani, 1628.

p. 25:

Nazarii vero corpus sub altari item maiori Ecclesiae suae, alias Basilicae Apostolorum, alte defossum erat quantum communis est hominis longitudo, tabulis marmoreis inclusum pressumque, et munitum calce et lateribus usque ad Ecclesiae solum, extante super solum ipsum post altare lateritio tumulo. Quo loco ab Ambrosio positum, neque unquam postea motum, mihi quidem fit verisimile. Cum autem hoc tempore ipsa Basilica satis iam vetustate deformata, nonnihilque incommoda ad Ecclesiasticum usum a canonicis reconcinanda et ornanda esset, ideoque etiam altaris locum mutari oporteret, quod prope extremam absidem erat; Carolus Archiepiscopus sepulchrum aperuit pergrandi lapide tectum, ut plures etiam presbyteri difficile illum dimoverent. Eiusmodi facto et nos interfuimus, vidimusque sacras reliquias; et quiddam succidum marmori inhaerescens, quod sanguinem credidimus a Paulino commemoratum. Eduxit reliquias Sanctus Pontifex, presbyteris adiuvantibus, easque cum aliis eadem de causa motis tuto in oculis signatis asservari mandavit donec post aliquos menses sollempniter eas omnes transtulit.

In the same volume, *Fragmenta*.

p. 3: *De Manlia Daedalia Virgine Mediolanensi*.

. . . Virginem puto in Basilica Apostolorum, nunc Ecclesia S. Nazarii, sepultam. suadet illud primo, quod ad frontem Martyris, hoc est Nazarii, et non Martyrum Protasii et Gervasii recubare dicatur. Deinde illud argumento est, quod cum erueremus corpora SS. Archiepiscoporum quae in Ecclesia S. Nazarii erant, sub altari primario in media fere Ecclesia invenimus in arcula argentea sphaeram seu globum ex auricalco cavum magnitudine pugni, qui in

duas aequales partes divisus, simul tamen, iungebatur, et claudebatur. intus erant velamina et parum ossis; foris hae litterae

Daedalia vivas in Christo.

In arcula argentea velamina itidem invenimus, quas omnes fuisse reliquias Apostolorum tunc dari solitas, Roma allatas, ut Paulinus scribit, putamus. Arcula autem cum sera excussa esset, existimamus eam quandoque primo loco suo motam, et repertis tantum velaminibus, quae ignorarentur, hic demum repositam. Ea omnia Beatus Carolus recondidit cum reliquiis Martyris.

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THE DECORATIVE QUALITIES OF FLORENTINE
QUATTROCENTO RELIEF¹

I

As sculpture develops, two dominant conceptions of the art evolve, at times in accord, at times in direct opposition to each other. These are the naturalistic idea, which is the basis of representation, and the decorative idea, which is concerned with the composition or relationship of lines and masses. Representation aims at the realization of the human form, or in general at a certain similitude to nature; decoration involves the principles of order, unity, harmony, balance, and rhythm. Spirit and imagination, of course, cannot be left out of account. The two ideas, the representative and the decorative, give rise respectively to sculpture in the round and sculpture in relief, but not being incompatible may be fused in one object, either round or relief: the perfect balance of the two in any one work gives perfection of sculpture.

It is unnecessary to inquire here whether the first rude figures classified as art are pure geometric decoration, or, partly at least, symbolic attempt at representation, but it is well to remember,—what is indeed too easily ignored by art critics,—that a large portion of art in general and of sculpture in particular was made to decorate something. The decorative effect, therefore, whether primary purpose or merely artistic by-product, must be reckoned with, and as the significance of sculpture is, then, *ipso facto*, generally decorative, the axiom results that imitation of nature,—naturalism, realism, representation, whatever it may be called,—is not necessarily art and, in sculpture and elsewhere, only becomes art when balanced or dominated by the decorative spirit.

Sculpture, unlike architecture, seems to have been not so much an artistic evolution as a curiously alternating expression of the

¹ Unless otherwise indicated, the monuments cited in this article are in Florence.

two basic ideas, the representative and the decorative, sometimes one predominating, sometimes the other. Greek art achieved perfection in the idealistic representation of the human form. The gift of mediaeval art was perfection of decoration. In Renaissance sculpture classic and mediaeval elements mingle with the new realistic tendency of the time, each contributing its peculiar emphasis and flavor.

In the Proto-Renaissance sculpture of Italy the Pisani and a few other late mediaevalists stand out amid the general artistic chaos to give, in their groping for natural form, hint of a new era. There is ever increasing interest in realism,—sometimes at the expense of decorative values,—and transitional sculptors emerge, such as Nanni di Bartolo, Ciuffagni, and Nanni di Banco. Although from this latter group we get more successful attempt at form, only Nanni di Banco is effective to any appreciable degree in decorative expression, and that this is true is easy to understand. Nanni di Banco surpasses in distinction because with the power of crisp characterization, with restraint, poise, and striking nobility in his figures, he combines a clear grasp of the value of orderly design. For vigor, expressive simplicity, good space-filling, or for line, his compositions count as very satisfactory decorative units.¹

As the Renaissance enters, thus, in a tentative and gradual way and the great personalities appear at the turn of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, groping is replaced by sureness of touch and the development begins which is continuous to its efflorescent decline. Classic influence in the early Renaissance is inspirational rather than literally imitative, and classic and Renaissance work may therefore be clearly distinguished. Classic idealization stands opposed to Renaissance realism, classic perfection of the body to the spiritual significance stressed in Renaissance work; the classic type appears versus the Renaissance individual, classic impassivity versus portrayal of emotion. It is enlightening to trace how, among these general tendencies of sculpture, the fundamental principle of decoration is worked out in one place and quite forgotten in another. By Nanni di Banco, to begin with, it is by no means ignored.

¹ St. Luke, Cathedral, Florence, Venturi, *Storia dell' arte italiana*, VI, fig. 109. Predelle to Orsanmichele statues, Venturi, VI, figs. 116, 117.

II

If we should take from JACOPO DELLA QUERCIA¹ the Ilaria monument,² the whole decorative estimate of his work would be changed, for this tomb is, from the decorative point of view, one of the most uniquely inspired of all Renaissance achievements. Decorative qualities of an elementary kind are not lacking, however, in his other works sufficiently inspired also



FIGURE 1.—TOMB OF ILARIA DEL CARRETTO BY JACOPO DELLA QUERCIA(?): LUCCA.

to be significant. The reliefs from the portal of San Petronio, Bologna, may be taken as typical.³ Broad, simple areas, well related to one another, reveal a good sense of balance, but as a rule not so much feeling for line as for mass, not so much thought for subtlety as for strength. The figures, simply and flatly treated, keep well to their background. On the one hand the flatness does not interfere with the realization of form and of

¹ Jacopo della Quercia, although not technically a Florentine, is closely allied in artistic aims to the contemporary trend of Florentine art, and is therefore included here with the great Florentine initiators of Italian Sculpture.

² Tomb of Ilaria del Carretto, Cathedral, Lucca. The time honored attribution of this monument to Della Quercia has recently been questioned rather convincingly without, however, supplying the name of any definite artist for the work. See Marquand, *A.J.A.* XIX, 1915, pp. 24 ff.

³ Venturi, VI, figs. 41-48.

vivid energy, and, on the other hand, by means of the flat treatment confusion of planes and disturbing violence of motion are avoided. The background is kept free from distracting detail, for elimination is with Jacopo a ruling motive, and accessories are reduced to the lowest terms. In the Vision of Zacharias,¹ one of the reliefs of the font in the Siena Baptistery, a dramatic scene is given focus and restraint by the device of a simple architectural arcade. Monumental restraint without accidental notes is typical of Jacopo's work. Jacopo's power lies, on the whole, in the combination of monumental quality, vitality of form and movement, and concentrated dramatic force. Jacopo's weakness appears in the treatment of drapery and of details in general. Feeling for line is sometimes lacking in the thick, flannel-like folds; sometimes again the drapery seems restless in line as if taking on emotional expression. The figures of the San Frediano altarpiece,² Lucca, show this less successful handling of drapery, while those from the Trenta tombs are more closely related to the Ilaria in the concentration of interest in line and design.

Jacopo, master of vital movement, is—if we leave with him the Ilaria monument—no less master of repose; a composer in mass, he can be at times no less a composer in line. In the tomb of Ilaria del Carretto (Fig. 1) we get the perfection of monumental repose, of line, and of decorative spirit. In the exquisite manipulation of the drapery there is sensitiveness of line and rhythm of line almost oriental. There is a lyric quality or grace of spirit which goes with grace of line. The flowers of the wreath which binds the head give their perfect and subtle accent of delicate pattern. The work is all so perfect that criticism becomes a mere pointing out of the obvious. Finally from the exquisite perfection of the effigy one turns, also with the satisfaction of one's decorative craving, to the exquisite frieze of garlands borne by putti, appearing now perchance for the first time in Renaissance sculpture, taken over appropriately from the genii of death on some ancient sarcophagus.

With Ghiberti we get the antithesis of Della Quercia in many ways. Ghiberti cannot think, like the Jacopo of the San Petronio façade, in terms of massive forms, of elemental emotions, of the dramatic. Ghiberti thinks "in the small" and can express himself only in terms of grace. Jacopo's preoccupation is with

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 35.

² Venturi, VI, fig. 34.

the dramatic moment, and decorative effect is merely the accompaniment, possibly accidental, while with Ghiberti, decoration is the supreme end and aim. Ghiberti's decoration is the fine and detailed ornamentation of a goldsmith rather than, like Jacopo's, sculptural composition in the largest sense.

The three sets of doorways of the Florentine baptistery illustrate progressively in their panels of biblical scenes the stages of growth from late mediæval to the developed pictorial Renaissance relief of Ghiberti. The south doors, those of Andrea Pisano,¹ present relief typically mediæval in arrangement and spirit. The panels of the east doors, the later set by Ghiberti,² show pictorial relief which is refined, elaborated, and entirely sophisticated in balance, composition, and spatial effects. Between these two series stands the earlier set by Ghiberti³ in the north doorway, still almost mediæval in simplicity and balance, but at the same time showing in embryo the qualities of the great east doors: a love of elaboration and background accessories, of treating a subject in the anecdotal spirit. Compared with the sobriety and reserve of earlier relief, the north doors of Ghiberti, and still more the east doors, suggest another world entirely, a world of space and of third dimension. They suggest the painter and realist, and reveal Ghiberti in the midst of the new art current, far removed from the mediæval Andrea. Ghiberti's reliefs, however, are reminiscent of the past, sometimes in the composition, sometimes in the Gothic grace and curve and backward bend of the figures. Antique influence is evident in a pervading feeling for the classic beauty of the human form: not anatomy, but the pure beauty of the nude engrossed Ghiberti, its beautiful lines and decorative import. Ghiberti, one realizes, makes no violent break with the past. He reconciles, in fact, all three tendencies, the classic, the mediæval, and the contemporary, but is preëminently a decorator in everything, converting both story and pictorial elements into little decorative scenes, vivacious and lyrical, which are held together and unified by richly fanciful borders of floral and animal motifs arranged in orderly sequence.

The pictorial treatment of relief is Ghiberti's contribution, if contribution it be, to Renaissance sculpture. Others used it,

¹ Venturi, V, figs. 340, 341, 343, 344, 347, and others.

² Venturi, VI, figs. 82, 85. Michel, *Histoire de l'Art* III, 2, figs., 301-303.

³ Venturi, VI, figs. 69-72. Michel, III, 2, fig. 297.

to be sure, but not always with the same ease and finish. Ghiberti's taste for pictorial relief seems to be derived from his first artistic interest, which was painting rather than sculpture. Partly by chance, apparently, he drifted into sculpture, taking his painter's point of view with him, and he shows his connection with contemporary painters who were beginning to be absorbed in such artistic problems as perspective. Ghiberti translates the problem of perspective into bronze. The legitimacy of pictorial relief may be questioned. There seems to be a mutual incompatibility between landscape and bronze. Only by the magic touch of a Ghiberti can the soft lines of land and sky and trees lend themselves pliantly to so hard and polished a substance. Architecture, on the other hand, almost invariably a coherent and unifying factor in background composition, with its more formal, rigid, and upright lines, is well adapted to the medium of bronze. In the panel of the east doors which tells the story of Abraham,¹ the treatment of the branching trees and the fine architectural effect of the vertical trunks, with the same verticality charmingly echoed in the long graceful lines of the angels' robes, give immediate aesthetic pleasure, but do not permit one quite to forget the rather hard and shapeless rocks close at hand. The scenes with architectural settings, such as the story of the Queen of Sheba, are in general more convincing as decoration than the landscape scenes. As a whole the reliefs of Ghiberti's doors give both delightful sense of form and delightful sense of decoration. One enjoys the gentle, unerring, and unfailing grace, but is never entirely unconscious that the characteristic limitation of the art of sculpture has been naively ignored.

DONATELLO has at his command all of Jacopo's force and much of Ghiberti's grace. Donatello's is an art, above all else, of dramatic emotion; and sometimes with a quick touch of genius he makes it also an art of supreme decoration. Decoration, however, he often forgets, so obsessed does he become with the vivid presentation of his idea. From the decorative point of view Donatello's best work falls fairly early in his career when his realism and intensity of thought are held in check by his sense of beauty and design.

Donatello, always an innovator, is among the first of the Renaissance sculptors to make use of pictorial relief. The predella (Fig. 2) to the statue of Saint George, Orsanmichele, is his earliest

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 85.

use of it and affords interesting contrast to the pictorial relief of his later years. There seems to be, in fact, a kind of progressive development in Donatello's use of the pictorial mode. This early predella presents the traditional "dragon and princess" tableau from the life of the saint. A loggia leading back gives the effect of depth, but the lines of the different planes are so quietly and so simply drawn that the background is free from confusion, serving merely to bind the composition well together. Though the lines are blurred from time and weather, the scene



FIGURE 2.—ST. GEORGE AND THE DRAGON BY DONATELLO: ORSANMICHELE, FLORENCE.

still appears fresh and naive in spirit, effective and unified in design. The relief of the font in the Siena Baptistery,¹ representing the Feast of Herod, and the relief of Salome at Lille are somewhat of the same simple type. In all three excessive depth of field is avoided, for the vista is limited by the architecture. A further stage of Donatello's interest in pictorial relief appears in the ceiling medallions² of the San Lorenzo sacristy (Fig. 3). These reliefs are decorative in general treatment of surface and cutting of areas, but are wholly unique as sculpture in the illusion they

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 141.

² Venturi, VI, figs. 162, 163.

create of air-filled space. In giving this happy effect of spaciousness,—a spaciousness which in no way suggests emptiness or mere void,—these medallions significantly anticipate the atmospheric perspective of Mantegna, Melozzo da Forlì, and some of the Umbrian painters. Late in life pictorial relief is not used by Donatello merely as a decorative expedient, but it becomes a direct means of bringing out the force of his theme. In the reliefs of the San Lorenzo pulpits,¹ confusion and overcrowding of scenes, rapid movement of the figures, even frenzy of motion,

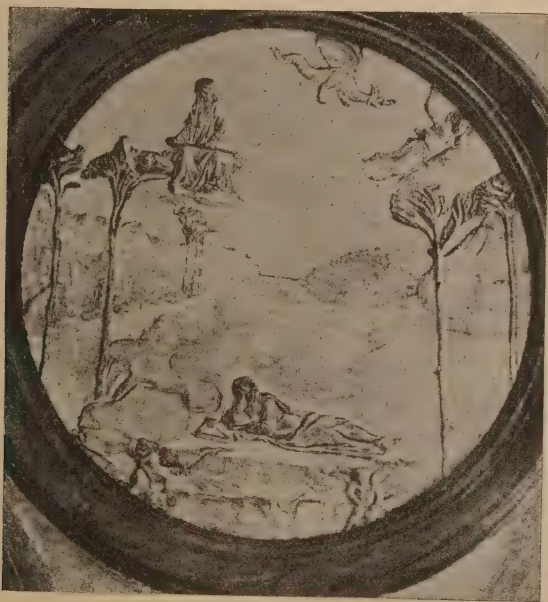


FIGURE 3.—ST. JOHN ON PATMOS, MEDALLION BY DONATELLO: SAN LORENZO, FLORENCE.

all help to present with the greatest vividness the distracted intensity and emotion of the scenes of the Passion, but the pleasant suggestion of space and the feeling for line are lost and the work fails as decoration. In general, Donatello shows himself the sculptor of Christian emotion in contrast to antique repose; his San Lorenzo reliefs mark the culmination of his plastic ideal, infusion of thought with vibrant energy of the body. Powerfully expressive as they are, one misses the effective simplicity of his earlier relief, as well as the commanding force, found nota-

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 207.

bly in some of his other works, which goes with more classic restraint.

But the pictorial is by no means Donatello's only method of relief. The Madonnas,—in technique studies in line, in spirit studies in subtle human feeling,—show the happy simplification in treatment which makes them, decoratively and spiritually, among the most important of Donatello's creations. The Pazzi Madonna,¹ of the Berlin Museum, one of the few Donatello Madonnas of unquestioned attribution, presents the two figures of mother and Child with few lines, flat modeling, and without background accompaniments. Everything is subordinated to the primary idea of intensity of maternal affection as the mother presses the Child to her. The carelessness of line here and there seems irrelevant, compared to the clarity of the thought. There are a number of Madonnas, of less certain authorship, which, with some variation in technique and composition, follow this type. Among these may be noted an exquisite little panel recently acquired under the Quincy Shaw bequest by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.²

Both in the Madonna groups and in scenes of other subjects Donatello often makes effective and imaginative use of *stiacciato*, a type of relief so low that the figures seem flattened or as if crushed into the background. What we miss by this kind of technique in sharp, crisp line, we gain in suggestion of mystery from the very vagueness of the line as it melts or blurs away. Donatello's lines in this mode, in spite of their softness, are vibrant and significant. The relief of the Assumption (Fig. 4) on the Brancacci tomb in Sant' Angelo à Nilo, Naples, is an instance of Donatello's rare power of expressing by means of *stiacciato* great mystery, solemnity, and awe. The figures are full of nervous intensity, but shadowy and unreal; a space is left clear around the figure of the Virgin, giving her a kind of solemn aloofness which contributes to the imaginative effect. Another superb example of *stiacciato* relief is Donatello's panel in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, of Christ Delivering the Keys to Peter.³

It remains to speak of the essentially decorative motif, the putto or cherub, suggested directly by the antique and used by

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 148.

² *Art in America*, VI, 1918, fig. 2, opp. page 230.

³ Venturi, VI, fig. 147.

Donatello with distinction and charm; Donatello is among the first of Renaissance sculptors thoroughly to understand its decorative possibilities. The putto, romping and mischievous, sometimes with wings, sometimes without, neither of heaven nor of earth, belonging perhaps to a sort of between-world, is one of Donatello's most original departures as applied to impressive ecclesiastical monuments. On the open air pulpit at Prato¹ this rollicking imp appears in the full charm of Donatello's best work, but the most appealing of all his putti are no doubt those

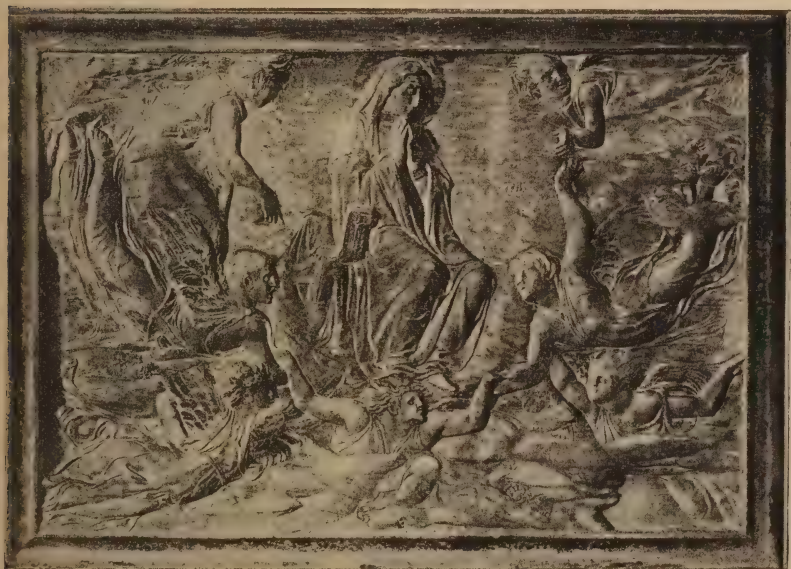


FIGURE 4.—ASSUMPTION OF THE VIRGIN BY DONATELLO: NAPLES.

of the cantoria,² now in the Cathedral Museum, Florence. Here across the frieze they make a rhythm of frenzied movement like that of classic bacchantae. There is rhythm everywhere, not only in the rapid, ecstatic movement, but in the lines of the young, half-nude forms, in the turn of the heads, in the swing of the clinging drapery. One of the incidental charms of the frieze is the mosaic background of *opus tessalatum*, with its delightful vibrating quality. The frieze as a whole is one of the finest decorative inspirations from Donatello's hand; the realistic and

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 155.

² Venturi, VI, figs. 156, 157.

emotional elements, so aggressive in much of Donatello's work, are here held in control by the decorative spirit.

Of LUCA DELLA ROBBIA, the third dominating personality of the early Florentine Quattrocento, Michel¹ says in effect: His genius is a matter of tenderness, simplicity, sane realism, and accessible charm. This is a true characterization, but the right emphasis must be kept, for Luca's charm is so "accessible" that it is easy to miss that which really makes him most worth while and which gives his work its decorative value or significance. The almost unfailing accompaniment of the tenderness and simplicity, that which, in fact, saves these qualities from the dangers of sentimentality and obviousness, is Luca's splendid genius for composition and line in combination with his rare sanity and poise. These essential traits permit him to take his place with his great contemporaries. He was a few years younger than either Ghiberti or Donatello, and his actual apprenticeship is uncertain, but the proximity to these older men may not have been without influence on Luca's general artistic understanding.

Luca's first incontestible work is the Singing Gallery,² made for the Cathedral. As it stands now close to Donatello's cantoria in the Cathedral Museum, and as it is similar in motif and very close in date, comparison of the two is inevitable. The swinging, rhythmic motion of Donatello's figures has been noted. In the frieze of Luca, antique influence is more apparent than in Donatello's, appearing in the drapery, in the laurel-bound heads, in the isocephalic composition. Luca's feeling for line is more sensitive and more classic than Donatello's, his feeling for arrangement and balance of masses more true, his sense of architectural decoration more sure. Luca's groups, separated by the upright dividing lines of pilasters, are composed within definite architectural panels, and each group becomes, thus, complete in itself, but finely subordinated to the decorative scheme of the whole. These differences aside, however, the real contrast which is very striking lies in the pervading spirit of the two reliefs; Luca's wingless boys are sane, contented, and happy, but with none of the mad lyric possession and whirl of Donatello's winged and temperamental putti. Perhaps the wings may be taken as the symbol of the difference between the two, and as that which puts them in different worlds, the symbol of temperament. These

¹ A. Michel, IV, 1, p. 72.

² Venturi, VI, figs. 363-369.

figures of Luca are full of reality, but have none of the super-
 vitality of Donatello's elf-children from an unknown world;
 Luca's are simply "the apotheosis of happy, Tuscan childhood."

Luca's power of direct, logical composition is illustrated in a
 number of other works. The panels of the bronze doors¹ of the
 Cathedral sacristy, Florence, show simple, balanced arrangement
 of figure, and show also Luca's feeling for grace of line, and his
 habitual mingling of tenderness and unaffected nobility. When
 Luca is direct, naïve, and unaffected, he is expressive and delight-
 ful. It is when he attempts the dramatic that he misses not only
 dramatic effect, but fails also in decorative judgment. Fra An-
 gelico is, in a way, the analogy in painting; neither Fra An-
 gelico nor Luca can represent dramatic crisis. The lunettes of the
 Resurrection and the Ascension,² over the Sacristy doors, as
 well as the relief of the Crucifixion at Impruneta, betray in the
 monotonous figures and mannered faces Luca's dramatic limita-
 tion. Devotional spirit is present, but not the decorative; Luca's
 characteristic excellence, the combination of spiritual dignity
 and decorative grace seems here to be wanting.

Although not an innovator in glazed terra-cotta, Luca brought
 that medium to perfection and popularity, giving it a vogue
 which lasted for the next hundred years. After his first timid,
 experimental and not altogether successful use of it in the tab-
 ernacle at Peretola, Luca used it freely and charmingly. He
 employed it for the lunettes above mentioned, for altar-pieces
 and tabernacles innumerable, for the medallions of Virtues³ in
 the chapel of the Portogallo tomb in San Miniato, for the Arms
 of the Guilds on Orsanmichele, and for delightful floral borders
 everywhere, even for the bordering frame of the solemn Fed-
 erighi tomb⁴ in Santa Trinità. But Luca's most important
 application of glazed terra-cotta is to the Madonna composi-
 tions which make varying degrees of spiritual and decorative
 appeal. In studying these Madonnas, whether those of the
 more human and intimate type, such as the Madonna of San
 Pierino⁵ in the Bargello, or those of the more formal type, as the

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 382. Michel, III, 2, Pl. VIII.

² Venturi, VI, fig. 376.

³ Michel, IV, 1, fig. 61.

⁴ Venturi, VI, fig. 384.

⁵ Venturi, VI, fig. 379.

Frescobaldi Madonna,¹ Berlin, or the Madonna of the Rose Garden² (Bargello), all with their tenderness, simplicity, and accessible charm, one is reminded that Luca was no mere ornamentor in glazed terra-cotta, but that he had the usual sculptural training and apprenticeship of the time in different mediums. He lived in the contemporary current of artistic development just as Ghiberti and Donatello did, and his feeling for form is almost, his feeling for line quite as certain as theirs.



FIGURE 5.—ANGELS BY LUCA DELLA ROBBIA: IMPRUNETA.

One can best leave the theme of Luca's charm, perhaps, by speaking of one of his favorite and most alluring decorative motifs, the figure of a youthful angel, used singly, in pairs, or in balanced groups. Direct descendant of the classic victory, by way of mediaeval ivory or other vehicle, this motif is taken over by the sculptors of the early Renaissance and finds in Luca's hand facile and delightful expression, whether it appears as wreath-bearer, or candle-bearer, whether it assists at Adorations, or modestly and cheerfully upholds Church Fathers at their

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 385.

² Venturi, VI, fig. 386.

work. Two of the most captivating of these angel groups are found in symmetrical balance on the predella to the Altar of the Holy Cross at Impruneta (Fig. 5). Always gracious and gentle, these little angel figures exemplify the principle constantly recurring in Luca's work, that grace of spirit and grace of line are quite inseparable companions: they make the charm entirely accessible. In much of the work of Luca's nephew, Andrea, and of his workshop, this accessibility of charm becomes mere obviousness; in the work of Luca the two terms are in no way synonymous.

The secret of aesthetic appeal in the work of AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO is far from obvious, for he too often fails in conception of form and in grasp of the essential coöperation between form and decoration. Nevertheless, for decorative idea he stands out unique among his contemporaries of Quattrocento art, apart from the contemporary current or development, with no immediate artistic progenitors, with no artistic descendants. Up to our time a victim of Vasari's invention or delusion, Duccio has only within recent years been extricated from oblivion by modern research and criticism, and rehabilitated with the artistic personality which belongs to him. Though a Florentine by birth, his work is chiefly associated with Modena, Perugia, and Rimini.¹

As has been implied, Agostino fits into no group, but he is supposed to receive influence from various sources. The reputed influence of Donatello, however, is not easy to trace. Both are linealists, but Agostino's sharp, crisp line, which makes a clear-cut pattern, is wholly unlike the vague, blurred line of Donatello's *stacciato*. This is not their only vital difference. Agostino, in direct contrast to Donatello, pays little heed to the careful treatment of the human form. Finally, Donatello's Christian ideal and Agostino's pagan feeling stand strongly opposed. From Leon Battista Alberti, Agostino is alleged to receive his peculiar type of drapery, of hair, of melancholy face which is often slightly distorted in pose and curiously eerie in expression. But the real influence coming to Agostino, whether by way of Alberti or not, is the Neo-Attic which appears in the diaphanous drapery, sometimes swirling and agitated, sometimes clinging in

¹ For illustrations of Perugian work see Venturi, VI, figs. 252-257, and Michel, III, 2, fig. 278, IV, 1, fig. 65. For work at Rimini, see Venturi, VI, figs. 249, 250, Michel, IV, 1, fig. 66.

thin, narrow folds. These rhythmically billowing garments tempt comparison with the fluttering robes of some ancient, wind-blown Nike. The antique strain, indeed, is pervasive in all Agostino's work, appearing, however, not in devotion to beauty of form, as with Ghiberti, but amazingly in the pagan spirit. Agostino's paganism, it may be pointed out, is not convincing as genuinely classic in feeling, but rather it seems to be



FIGURE 6.—ARCHANGEL MICHAEL BY AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO: SAN BERNARDINO, PERUGIA.

a Renaissance translation of the classic according to the understanding of the day. Thus the theme may be Franciscan Virtues, but what he really brings before us are irresponsible pagan nymphs; one feels this irresponsibility quite as readily in the Christian Virtues and angels of the San Bernardino façade, Perugia, as in the musical putti and mythical characters of Sigismondo Malatesta's pagan temple at Rimini. The peculiar note of irresponsibility belongs to a certain phase of the Renaissance

rather than to a typically classic ideal. Agostino draws from the source of his inspiration, whatever it may be, with his own capricious and inventive fancy.

Agostino di Duccio's genius one may safely say is purely decorative, and his work is largely decoration in the sense of surface pattern. When he attempts narrative, as in the scenes from the life of San Bernardino, in Perugia, he is helpless; he is much less helpless to be sure in his earlier reliefs, in Modena Cathedral,



FIGURE 7.—CHASTITY AND MUSICAL ANGELS BY AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO: SAN BERNARDINO, PERUGIA.

which relate episodes from the life of San Gemignano. It is, however, as composer or filler of space that Agostino is at times unsurpassed, although even in composition he sometimes misses a gratifying result, for he relies too obviously on rhythmical drapery for decorative effect. It is evident that the artist is more concerned with design than with representation, but it is equally evident that he succeeds best with design when he gives most careful thought to the representation of his forms. Among his most careful and successful creations are several reliefs of the

Perugian façade: the Archangel Michael (Fig. 6), the Christian Virtue Chastity, and one or two of the musical angels (Fig. 7). These are really lovely compositions.

Agostino does not, as is said of him, sacrifice representation to design, but, instead, he too often sacrifices form to his own heedlessness or indifference, and the design suffers in consequence. For the handling of line and form Agostino and Botticelli invite comparison, and Agostino's sacrifice of representation marks the sharp distinction between the two men. Botticelli sacrifices naturalistic anatomy and canons, but the forms he presents are beautiful according to his own canons, beautiful in delicate, thoughtful rhythm. Botticelli's people belong to a rarified other-world. Agostino's belong, possibly, to a half-demonic one, and these strange-featured, capricious-looking beings with their languid half-closed eyes, half-sensuous mouths, poorly drawn hands and feet, and rather bizarre garments often repel. Michel¹ speaks truly when he characterizes Agostino as "a less resourceful Gozzoli, a less intense and less profound Botticelli, with a tenderness a little superficial, a grace voluptuous and mannered, with a singular and disconcerting mingling of ephemeral spontaneity, archaism, and cunning." Remembering that Agostino flourished in the best period of Florentine art, when both sculptors and painters were absorbed in the perfecting of form, are we, then, to regard his work as frankly and affectedly archaistic or merely inexpert, or does it, indeed, carry with it the suggestion of haste and bored indifference? There is never this note of carelessness or indifference in Botticelli's work; his interest in his problem amounts to genuine imaginative obsession. One feels, too, with Agostino, as never with Botticelli, the dangers of the erratic curve; it is only in being a rather safely obscure Quattrocentist that Agostino is saved from being a warning in the schools of design.

For comparison, one might also turn to the early Renaissance in France, and find in the work of Jean Goujon a possible analogy to Agostino's management of drapery. Both suggest the same ancient source, and the Neo-Attic swirl is in the work of both, but there the comparison ends, for with Goujon realism of form, while never over-emphasized or insisted upon, is never uselessly ignored. A graciousness of form, as well as of spirit, present in

¹ Michel, IV, 1, p. 94.

Goujon's is missing in Agostino's work. Agostino underestimates the value of distinguished form.

In every plausible comparison to be suggested, Agostino di Duccio suffers, but the unique quality of his decorative effects will always save him from neglect and his lyric quality will never cease to capture. His work remains a lure to the imagination, interesting, exotic, unorthodox, and full of unexplainable charm.

III

Jacopo della Quercia, Ghiberti, Donatello, Luca della Robbia, with their various preoccupations, as we have seen, make on early Renaissance sculpture each his peculiar and valuable impress. Form infused with thought is the fixed idea of both Della Quercia and Donatello. The contribution of the other two, and of Agostino di Duccio, is in the way of decoration. Another group of sculptors, following a little later in the Quattrocento, effective in their work, but not exerting the same influence on art in general, stands forth as frankly decorative in purpose. Knowledge of form has been gloriously achieved by the great initiators; the artists of the generation closely following have only to absorb and apply the principles, and they do this in many cases with high distinction.

BERNARDO ROSSELLINO, earliest of this second group, makes definite impression on Quattrocento work in his monument to Lionardo Bruni¹ in Santa Croce, and departing from the mediaeval sepulchral idea, sets the type of Renaissance tomb. The Bruni tomb as a Renaissance monument shows classical influence in its larger divisions, in its charming details, and in its effigy of antique grandeur. The monument is splendidly architectural in its lines and proportions; symmetry, focus, relation of parts, and subordination of ornament are in no way neglected in the perfection of its composition. A classical tomb worthy of a great humanist, it betrays no Christian element save the dignified and impressive Madonna of the tympanum.

With flexibility of artistic gift, Bernardo creates in wholly another spirit the tomb of Beata Villana de' Cerchi (Fig. 8) in Santa Maria Novella. This is one of a group of famous tombs in various parts of Italy raised to women of distinguished houses of the

¹ Michel, IV, 1, fig. 70.

period.¹ All show Renaissance spirit or details with some lingering mediaeval quality. The Cerchi monument comes near to the Carretto in charm, but the figure of La Beata is a little less monumental than that of Ilaria: the lines of the Villana effigy, though charming are not so decoratively significant, and the posture lacks that old mediaeval quality of eternal rest, giving rather the effect of an uncertain sleep, a note distinctly new with Renaissance sculpture. There is, however, in the figure of Villana more of mediaeval detachment and restraint than of Renais-



FIGURE 8.—TOMB OF LA BEATA VILLANA BY B. ROSSSELLINO: SANTA MARIA NOVELLA, FLORENCE.

sance realism, and the monument, in general effect and feeling, belongs rather to the Middle Ages than to the Renaissance: the inspiration comes from the fourteenth century tomb. The traditional theme of angels drawing aside a curtain in front of the effigy is here delightfully handled, and the scroll which the angels unroll gives with its fine inscription a note of delicate accent. Bernardo again, with his keen sense of design, com-

¹The list of these tombs, beginning with that of Ilaria del Carretto, includes such names as Barbara Manfredi, Maria Camponeschi, Maria of Aragon, Medea Colleoni, etc.

poses in line, shadows, and subtle contrasts. Architectural feeling is dominant in all of Bernardo's work, not only in his many tombs, but also in such reliefs as the Madonna of Arezzo, with its perpendicular lines and hieratic composition. Sculpture is, in fact, always secondary with Bernardo, and architecture claims him more and more.

ANTONIO ROSSELLINO, although he collaborated often with Bernardo, lacks in a measure the fine architectural sense of his older brother. The most famous work connected with Antonio's name happens unfortunately to be an architectural monument, the tomb of the young cardinal of Portugal,¹ in San Miniato, a work in which Antonio breaks many of the rules of design. It lacks, to begin with, the strong boundary lines of an architectural framework. The thinly disposed curtain which is substituted takes the place neither of legitimate architecture nor of mediaeval drapery. Absence of organic unity, again, disturbs the whole effect; there is no rightly focused centre of interest, for the effigy is not stressed as the dominant motif and, with interest diffused, the different elements fall loosely apart. The monument, failing thus in cohesiveness, fails also in harmony, for the several groups of angels and putti² show little correspondence of type, pose, or costume. They flutter about at various angles, and their animation but adds to the confusion. Great satisfaction, however, is afforded by the wonderfully beautiful figure of the young cardinal, with its absolute repose, and its simple, straight, and harmonious lines. In spite of the fact, then, that this monument disregards the laws of harmony and order, in spite of the rather disturbing little angels which obtrude restlessly overhead, this tomb shows in the fine effigy and in details of lovely carved ornament, much of the beauty and grace of the best Quattrocento work.

If one misses in this tomb of Antonio the best architectural feeling, one cannot deny him fine decorative tact in smaller works. In the latter he combines with an unusual facility for form and composition a taste for line and delicacy of finish which marvelously enhance the final charm. The tondo of the Madonna Adoring the Child³ in the Bargello is a good example of Antonio's

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 414.

² This fluttering, over-active putto foreshadows the excessive and wearisome occurrence of the motif in the sixteenth century and later.

³ Venturi, VI, fig. 418.

harmonious composition in purely sculptural works, and may be noted in passing as one of the first attempts in marble at pictorial relief. The Nativity,¹ in the Church of Monte Oliveto, Naples, shows the same good understanding of composition, of pictorial relief, and of the decorative possibilities of details. The motif of dancing angels over the manger is a charming accessory. In the Madonna of the Mandorla, in Santa Croce, the tendency of art at the end of the Quattrocento towards ample form and mundane expression begins to intrude itself, but, like the Bargello tondo, this Madonna shows Antonio's delicate feeling for finish. In all of Antonio's Madonnas there is an ever present grace which makes them very appealing.² Even in Antonio's least successful work one can forgive much for the sake of the beautiful ornamental detail in which he and Desiderio, with a sure sense, never failed.

The pupil of Donatello, DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO, inherited the technical skill, but not the passionate quality of his great master. The knowledge of form he learns, but is incapable of Donatello's realism, or of his dramatic intensity. With an idealizing tendency, selective and eliminative, with an exquisite sensitiveness for line and finish, Desiderio becomes the interpreter of the aristocratic temperament, whether his subject be tomb, Madonna, Infant John, or Unknown Lady.

With the versatility of Quattrocento genius Desiderio adds to his rather specialized sculptural gifts keen architectural judgment. The Marsuppini tomb³ in Santa Croce, interesting pendant to the Bruni monument, shows almost the same distinction as the latter. Desiderio's accomplishment is barely less than Bernardo's, but Desiderio had, of course, only to follow. Desiderio adopts all the main features of the Bruni tomb, on a scale, perhaps, not quite so perfect, but the feeling for the essentials of composition is equally present in both. The two monuments, however, show contrast in the point of view. The desire to lighten the effect, combined with fondness for ornament, asserts itself strongly in the work of Desiderio, and every opportunity has been seized to secure an effect less heavy and sombre than that of the Bruni tomb. The background to the Marsuppini

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 417.

² The Kneeling Virgin of the Presepio, Metropolitan Museum, New York, is attributed to Antonio and, whether by him or not, is a very charming work of this period.

³ Venturi, VI, fig. 266. Michel, IV, 1, fig. 79.

effigy is broken up into more slender panels, gloomy recesses are hidden, merry putti appear, the sarcophagus is of richly ornate type, and the figure of the dead prelate is represented as if in natural sleep. Floral wreaths and vases and singing figures, light and delicate ornamentation take the place of the sober and

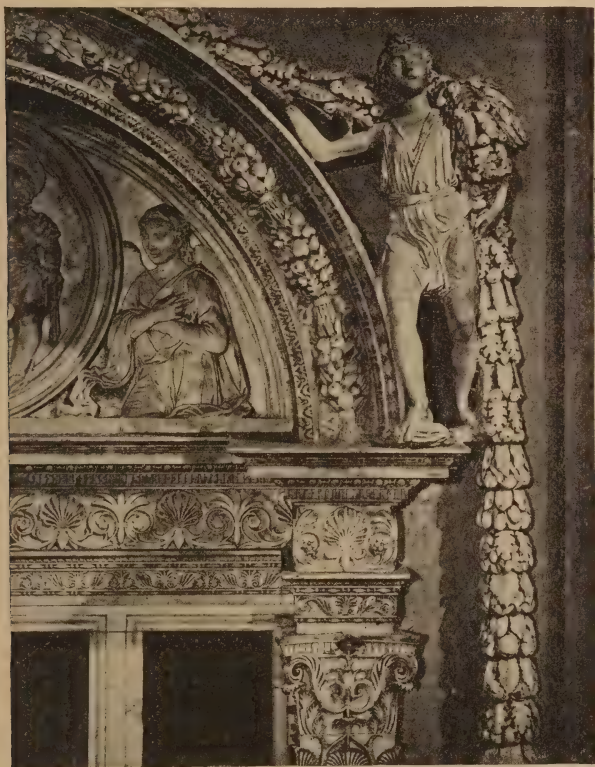


FIGURE 9.—WREATH-BEARER, MARSUPPINI TOMB, BY DESIDERIO: SANTA CROCE, FLORENCE,

severe elegance of the Bruni monument. In the Marsuppini tomb restrained but light elegance is seen in every part (Fig. 9).

Desiderio's purely sculptural work falls notably into three classes: Madonna reliefs, studies of childhood, feminine portrait busts. Around all of these the sharp controversy of attribution has been waged.

Of the studies of childhood, the so-called Christ-child and Young John,¹ of the Arconati-Visconti collection, Paris, once attributed

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 272.

to Donatello, and of the Madonna reliefs the Panciatichi, Florence (Fig. 10), best exemplify the qualities already specified: everywhere delicacy of touch and the designer's point of view, subtle surface pattern in sensitive line, a human note and aristocratic aloofness subtly combined, unerring taste in the great art of selection. Finally, in most of Desiderio's work there is the lyric joy of life which makes instant the appeal. The Madonna of the Dreyfus collection, Paris, and the Turin Madonna, now safely ascribed to Desiderio, as well as the Madonna in the



FIGURE 10.—MADONNA PANCIATICHI BY DESIDERIO.

tympanum of the Marsuppini tomb, also illustrate these points in greater or less degree.

The feminine portrait busts of this period constitute one of the fascinating problems in attribution; whoever the artist may be in the case of each, they are closely related to Desiderio's work in gracious quality and aristocratic spirit (Fig. 11). Though sculpture in the round, they give the impression of drawing in clear, delicate line, and cannot be wholly ignored in a consideration of the decorative elements of the Quattrocento. The long-contested busts of some young Princess of Urbino, of Marietta

Strozzi, of Beatrice—or is she Eleanor?—of Aragon, and others of the same general character, with which the critics play the pleasant Game of Attributions, involving and confusing the illusive names of Desiderio and Francesco Laurana, all illustrate with great distinction the artist's supreme creative tact in the restrained use of exquisite detail,—spared almost to the



FIGURE 11.—ELEANOR OF ARAGON(?) BY LAURANA: PALERMO.

point of omission,—and the happy balance of idealization and individuality.¹

MINO DA FIESOLE, pupil of Desiderio, follows his master, but never learns his craft. In imitating Desiderio he falls into the

¹ Francesco Laurana, a Dalmatian Italian, adds another name to the list of those whose artistic personalities have not yet been adequately reconstructed. His style is related, by way of certain influences, to that of Quattrocento Florence, but his work is connected not with Florence, but chiefly with Southern Italy, Sicily, and Southern France.

According to present attributions, the so-called young Princess of Urbino, a young Marietta Strozzi, Berlin, and a young Marietta Strozzi, in private ownership, Florence, are now given to Desiderio, while the Beatrice, or Eleanor, busts are gathered under the personality of Laurana. This latter group includes: a bust in Vienna, one in the Louvre, one in the André collection, Paris (which may be a forgery, or by an imitator), a young Beatrice in the Dreyfus collection, Paris, an older Beatrice in Berlin, and the finest one of all in Palermo. For illustrations see Venturi, VI, figs. 274, 275, 711, 712, and others.

fault of most imitators, that of exaggeration or distortion of fine qualities into caricature. Desiderio's fineness of touch and discrimination are often translated by Mino into the mincing. Mino's figures, in general, show poor drawing and proportions, defective modeling, and poverty of substance; his lack of scale appears unpleasantly in the figures of the indoor pulpit of the Prato Cathedral. Probably Mino's worst failing, however, is lack of grand seriousness and sense of fitness. Desiderio's light touch goes with keen insight; Mino's lightness is a cumbersome sportiveness, which knows neither time nor place, a superficial attempt at playfulness, which comes from a superficial point of view or want of a wise and understanding spirit. Here and there Mino draws an inspired line, and it is as linealist that he counts, if at all, in a decorative way. The defect in the spirit of his work and his limited technical achievement do not, indeed, obscure such isolated good qualities as delicate line, graceful architectural ornament, and facility in rendering textile materials. Mino does, in fact, show taste for surface pattern, but, relying on richly embroidered robes for decorative effect, he too often accomplishes mere ostentation of costume. The ingenuous sweetness and gentle charm of some of Mino's figures should not be overlooked, but, not combined with more forceful characteristics, they hardly redeem his work from ineffectiveness. Sometimes Mino's work is genuinely pleasing, but it seldom escapes the obvious and the superficial.

Flourishing in the second half of the fifteenth century, and classified as extreme realists, with all this implies, Pollajuolo and Verrocchio might legitimately be omitted here were it not for the fact that, with all their intense preoccupation with realistic form, each shows in flashes the perfected decorative sense of the Quattrocento.

The work which preëminently argues this in the case of ANTONIO POLLAJUOLO is the bust of the splendid young warrior,¹ attributed to him, in the Bargello. In the whole pose and treatment decorative feeling is clearly defined: one feels it in the tilt of the head, in the treatment of the hair, in the impersonal, cryptic expression of the face. One sees it in the contrast between the general simplicity of the figure and the detailed ornament of the breastplate, as well as in the pattern of the breastplate itself, which is covered in low relief with vigorously moving little figures

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 497.

illustrating some classic theme. The whole thing in its harmony of parts is an unerring piece of decorative work, more truly decorative, in fact, than Pollajuolo's more pretentious efforts, which are too apt to be merely elaborate studies of anatomy, of posture, and of allegory.¹

With VERROCCHIO comes the culmination of realism in Florence. Verrocchio is among the first of the Italian sculptors to present scenes from actual life, and in the tomb relief of Francesca Tornabuoni,² now in the Bargello, he represents a deathbed scene not



FIGURE 12.—BUST OF UNKNOWN WOMAN BY VERROCCHIO: FLORENCE.

only disagreeable as realism, but also lacking in decorative effect; it seems a piece of decorative arrogance, in truth, and something of an anomaly in the light of the Florentine precedent for fine decorative taste. Clearly it is not in the Tornabuoni relief that one looks for the decorative power of Verrocchio, but one finds it to a marked extent in the two Madonnas of the Bargello.³ In

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 493.

² Venturi, VI, fig. 482.

³ These are a terra-cotta relief, authenticated as the work of Verrocchio, and a very similar marble relief, almost equally assured in attribution. See Venturi, VI, figs. 483, 484.

these reliefs Verrocchio departs far from the Donatello Madonna in many ways; Verrocchio's Madonnas have the majesty of Donatello's with more restraint and detachment. They have the aristocratic quality of Desiderio's, with more real existence; they have the sanity and poise of Luca's. The treatment of the drapery in the marble relief is interesting in rhythmical, crisp line. That which prevents entire harmony in this composition is the over-realism in the modeling of the baby compared with the more generalized treatment of the Madonna.

The most surely authentic of the portrait busts attributed to Verrocchio is that of the Unknown Lady, in the Bargello (Fig. 12). Though sculpture in the round, it possesses, like Desiderio's, the decorative feeling of relief. It is decorative in its purity of line, in its simplicity of pose, in the rare perfection of its finish, in the contrast between exquisite detail and delicate plain surfaces. The detail occurs in three small areas—in the roll of hair, or kind of headdress, pushed out on either side of the head, and in the bunch of flowers which the lady holds with both exquisite hands in front of her. The hair, or headdress, repeats the pattern of the flowers; they are detailed to the same scale and both give exactly the right accent. The charm is not entirely obvious, nor the appeal immediate, perhaps, but upon reflection she becomes a rare figure of rhythm and harmony,—this *Inconnue*,—let us leave the Quattrocento with her.

With BENEDETTO DA MAJANO and MATTEO CIVITALI we approach the new century; these men mark the transition. Certain characteristics appearing slightly in Antonio Rossellino find more developed expression in Benedetto and Matteo. Amplitude of form and drapery begins to be a feature in Renaissance sculpture, and along with it appears increasing concern for sculpture in the round, less concern for sculpture in relief. As a logical result, interest shifts from composition and line to mere representation and to over-emphasis of form. Ever-growing influence from the classical nude leads to direct imitation of the antique, without the inspiration of the early Renaissance. Pose becomes mannered, facial expression either theatrical in attempted portrayal of emotion, or emptily passive; and sixteenth century passivity is far indeed from the grandly impersonal repose of early work. The freshness of the early Renaissance is gone, and the early Quattrocento sense of beauty is dying out, but sixteenth century characteristics are not yet fully matured. Matteo and Benedetto show

the initial tendencies of the decadence, but not its worst phases. Their work is uneven; both command some technical skill and are not lacking in knowledge of composition. The statue of Faith,¹ in the Bargello, illustrates, for Civitali, the trend of the day: meaningless allegory, amplitude of figure and drapery, with empty expression and somewhat mannered pose. It is a statue of mediocre interest, but Civitali is seen even to less advantage in the monument to Saint Regulus² in Lucca Cathedral. He is seen at his best in the Annunciation³ in the Lucca Pinacoteca, and in the really charming little Angels of the Sacrament,⁴ in the Lucca Cathedral. Here and there one comes upon very pleasing little angels ascribed to his hand. Benedetto's well-known pulpit,⁵ in Santa Croce, Florence, reveals, in five scenes from the life of St. Francis, some sureness in execution, some ease in composition, but likewise the new taste for rather dry and over-abundant ornament which leaves no moulding free for line and accent.

Consideration of Quattrocento relief can hardly be concluded without brief reference to the Pure Ornament which, in the Renaissance, presents such rare development. Just as the sculptors of the Renaissance turn to classic art for inspiration in their larger work, so, for ornamental detail, they borrow from the Roman, though that is not their only source: the mediaeval, too, is a rich storehouse of decorative material. The Renaissance, thus, mingles many motives, but what it borrows it transforms, and with it creates characteristic types of ornament in every part of Italy: Lombardy, Venice, Rome, Tuscany, Florence, each evolves an ornament full of grace and charm, and each sculptor has his favorite mode of ornament in connection with his larger sculpture. Della Quercia makes Ilaria's tomb classic with garland and putto. Ghiberti⁶ binds foliage with ribbons, interspersing birds and small animals in a delightful way; he makes use, too, of little classic heads, of figures in niches, and of graceful floating angels bearing wreaths. Luca develops the decorative angel with more originality than Ghiberti, and uses it constantly. Glazed terracotta foliage

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 474.

² Venturi, VI, figs. 478, 479.

³ Venturi, VI, fig. 471.

⁴ Venturi, VI, figs. 472-473.

⁵ Venturi, VI, fig. 462.

⁶ Venturi, VI, figs. 86-89.

with Tuscan wild flowers is, of course, Luca's special contribution to Quattrocento ornament. Agostino di Duccio employs putti and garlands and the Malatesta rose with fine effect. Always inventive, Donatello is not invariably successful in his ornament, for his decorative sense is by no means unailing; he does not thoroughly understand the subordination of ornament to the scheme of his larger compositions, nor does he entirely grasp the relationship of ornament to decoration in general. It is the understanding of this last important fact that gives some of the minor men their distinction (Fig. 13).

About the middle of the Quattrocento, Florentine ornament, crystalizing into a type, and used by a whole group of workers, becomes a happy association of flowers, fruits, fanciful animals, and winged figures, in wreath, garland, or arabesque, all carved



FIGURE 13.—TUSCAN RENAISSANCE ORNAMENT: DETAIL.

with classic rhythm of line and graceful imagery. Mino,¹ Desiderio, Antonio Rossellino, and others, use this kind of ornament with facility and beauty. Pollajuolo abandons the type. Verrocchio develops the baroque in its initial stages. With Benedetto, as indicated, ornament becomes dry and loses its freshness. Ornament follows, in the main, the same course as sculpture proper, developing from restrained, fresh, early phases to an efflorescent end. Even at its poorest, ornament may furnish an illuminating field of interest to the historian or archaeologist; while at its best, it offers inspiration to the artistic imagination, and fascinating matter for the study of design.

In the course of this brief survey, decorative qualities in sculpture have been more or less defined, and the occurrence of these qualities in Italian work has, here and there, been noted. A

¹ Venturi, VI, fig. 442.

rapid summary may be made. After the passing of ancient art, —of Egyptian skill in line and Assyrian taste for surface pattern, —classic art begins a development from an entirely new point of view, at first, however, with the decorative idea still predominating. From the earliest groping of Greek sculpture for form, ease in naturalistic expression develops rapidly, and the two fundamental ideas are fused in the golden age of Greek art. Form develops further until, in the Hellenistic period with its over-stress on realism, genuine decorative effect is largely ignored, and the fact indicated above finds apt illustration: as interest in realism increases beyond a certain limit, sculpture becomes negligible as decoration. The Roman period borrows freely from Greek art, but develops its original types too. The decorative idea is present slightly in Roman historical and continuous relief, but very richly in pure ornament. Following this epoch, the tradition for classic form is almost lost amid the chaos of the Middle Ages, and, with many strains mingling, oriental as well as European, sculpture becomes sculpture in relief: decorative, associative, architectural. Art swings, thus, from the one fundamental idea to the other. Only once or twice during the centuries surveyed have the two ideas been fused.

The Renaissance absorbs the past, taking over motifs and ideas with creative imagination. Interest in form revives and focuses on the human figure as the greatest possibility in art. Perfection of form, having classic precedent, is realized quickly and brilliantly, but decoration, having become during the mediaeval centuries almost intuitive, is not at once forgotten. Not until the sixteenth century does decorative feeling approach extinction, when Michel Angelo with his great genius makes of sculpture a mighty figure-language, and his followers produce anatomical allegory, or decadent imitation of Michel Angelo and of classic types. Fusion of the two ruling conceptions of sculpture, even in the first freshness of the Quattrocento, is seldom accomplished, and Quattrocento relief comes before us as a subtle study of successes and failures.

The greatest masters sometimes fail, but are often vital even in their failures. A number of the lesser men experience inspired moments. With enlightened deduction as to cause and effect, one can only repeat that form needs the decorative spirit to give it orderly and harmonious expression; that decoration demands

knowledge of form to give it force and distinction. Only a perfect balance of the two principles, the representative and the decorative, can achieve the perfect art of a Parthenon Frieze, or a doorway of Chartres; can give us a tomb of Ilaria del Carretto, or a portrait bust of the Italian Quattrocento.

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TERRACOTTA REVETMENTS FROM ETRURIA

THE articles by Dr. Luce and Mr. Holland upon Terracotta Revetments from Etruria, illustrated by careful and beautiful restorations,¹ will be read with the greatest attention by all who take any interest in this fascinating subject. The difficult work of reconstructing the slabs in Philadelphia has been done with much skill and care, and will be of great assistance to any future investigator. It was, indeed, a happy inspiration to employ the analogy of the designs on red-figured vases for working out the motive of the diagonal addorsed palmettes of *A.J.A.* XXII, p. 334, Fig. 8, 1.

It is true that the revetments of Etruscan temples were, as the authors mention, usually of terracotta, but we know that the sanctuary at Nemi was adorned with thin plates of bronze,² and this was probably the case in other instances where no trace of the revetment has been preserved.

The fragments of a grill now in Philadelphia form a beautiful pattern which the authors have cleverly reconstructed (*A.J.A.* XXI, p. 297, Fig. 1). The variations in the clay of the different fragments suggest frequent restorations and lead one to infer that the grill was placed in an exposed position and, consequently, was frequently damaged. The authors argue that the grill could not have been fitted into a groove in the cyma, above the raking cornice, "because the support from below is too slight and the ornament too thin to stand rough treatment." They therefore conclude that there were two thicknesses of slabs, set back to back, and placed all along the ridgepole. As an illustration of their theory they cite the Roman terracotta slabs showing statues beneath a portico (Figs. 7 and 8). But these slabs are not a case in point, as there the palmettes simply form an appropriate border to the slab and run continuously the whole length of the frieze. The ornamentation of the ridgepole, if such it were, could not be set immediately above the columns without any intervening member, and the very difference in scale shows that it was not

¹ *A.J.A.* XXI, 1917, p. 296 ff. and XXII, 1918, pp. 319 ff.

² *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, 1895, p. 275.

regarded as a structural element of the building represented, which is more probably a colonnade than a temple.

The arguments, however, against placing the grill in such a position are very strong. If the slabs were put on double, it would do away with all the beautiful effect of lightness obtained by the grill. Since the Etruscans could mould life-size figures in the round, as shown by recent excavations, they were certainly capable of baking slabs of the required thickness. The small model temples from Nemi and Satricum¹ have merely rounded tiles to cover the ridgepole, and portions of such plain tiles have been found in various excavations. Had the Etruscans wished to decorate the tiles of the ridgepole, they would have moulded tile and ornament in one, as was always done in the case of antefixes and acroteria.² No such ornamented tiles have ever been found.

Signor Malavolta, assistant at the Villa Giulia Museum, kindly gave me the benefit of his experience as excavator and restorer. He states that the fragments of grills have never been discovered anywhere except on the principal façade of a temple, never at the rear or sides as would have been the case had the grill run the whole length of the ridgepole. He adds that in well-preserved specimens, below the base decorated with maeander, as in the Philadelphia example, is a plain base of about 10 cm. which was inserted into the groove of the lower member, the cyma, thus ensuring a strong support against high wind or other dangers. This deep insertion is unthinkable in the case of a tile, which would necessarily be completely severed and allow of leakage at a vulnerable spot. The tiles covering the ridgepole were rounded to allow the rain-water to run away, and any ornament upon them would have interfered with that structural necessity.

The authors state on page 306 that "there is no sure way of dating these architectural terracottas and one man's guess is just as good as another's." The chronology is certainly difficult, but not quite so vague as they imply. For there are certain considerations which serve as valuable guides. One is the building which the revetment adorned: in many recent excavations careful research has permitted an accurate dating, primarily from the architecture itself, and secondarily from objects found there, such as inscriptions, bucchero ware, late vases, etc. When the prove-

¹G. Rizzo, *B. Com. Rom.* 1910, p. 281-321.

²This important observation was made to me by Dottorressa L. Morpurgo, who, as Assistant Curator at the Villa Giulia Museum, has had unique opportunities of studying the material.

nance of the terracotta fragments cannot be precisely ascertained, comparison with similar slabs of known provenance is an assistance. Lastly, the clay itself, the method of working it, the firing, coloring and style of the design, all enable us to form some judgment upon this question.

The earliest terracotta decoration consisted entirely of figurative subjects such as the friezes of animals from Poggio Buco,¹ the Gorgoneion and Warrior on horseback from Vignanello,² and the Warrior on horseback from the Roman Forum.³ Slightly later come the more elaborate subjects of the Procession of *bigae* with winged horses from Velletri, Palestrina, and the Esquiline,⁴ leading on to the more varied subjects of horse races, chariot processions, banqueting scenes, etc. The earliest element which was treated as purely decorative seems to have been the acroterion.⁵ With a desire for greater ornamental richness, floral motives were introduced which led to the elaborate decoration of such temples as that of Apollo at Falerii.⁶

Careful comparison of these grills shows that the simplest and flattest designs are the more archaic. Perhaps the earliest is from the temple at Satricum, which may be dated at the very beginning of the fifth century from the architectural remains and from the figurative terracottas found there; another very simple design comes from the Temple of Mercury at Falerii, which also belongs to the early fifth century B.C. The grill from Segni, although not complicated in design, has been shown by conclusions drawn from the building which it decorated to belong to the second century B.C.⁷ Wiegand, in his description of the grill from Caere,⁸ illustrated by Dr. Luce, compares it with fragments from Alatri, a temple of the second century B.C., and certainly that is the impression produced by the elaborate design and by the rose-crowned head and agitated garments of the winged figure of the Caere grill. The grill in Philadelphia is similar, but slightly earlier than the one from Falerii which comes from a temple of the third century. This comparatively late date is confirmed by the prove-

¹ *Not. Scav.* 1898, p. 436.

² *Not. Scav.* 1916, p. 83, fig. 46.

³ *Not. Scav.* 1899, p. 157, fig. 17.

⁴ Pellegrini, *Studi e Materiali*, I, pp. 99 ff.

⁵ Rizzo, *Bull. Com. Rom.* 1911, p. 25.

⁶ Taylor and Bradshaw, *B.S.R.* VIII, 1916, pp. 1-34, pls. I, II.

⁷ *Boll. Arte*, X, 1916, (*Cronaca d' Arte*, p. 14).

⁸ Arndt, *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg*, pl. 173, ii, p. 21.

nance of the Philadelphia grill, for excavations at Orvieto have proved that the temples there were all of the fourth to the second centuries, and the only terracotta fragment which might conceivably be placed in the late fifth century is the three-headed Daemon in Berlin.¹

Since the provenance of the slab A.J.A. XXII, pl. VIII, 1, is unknown it is more difficult to date it accurately. A fragment of revetment from Orvieto from a necropolis of the fourth century bears a certain resemblance to the treatment and coloring of the palmettes and lotus buds.² The authors are probably correct in conjecturing that the main fragment of pl. VIII, 11, has been restored upside-down, for the examples from Falerii show that in almost every instance a pattern of maeander or guilloche was introduced between two tori above the decorative design. From Alatri come close parallels to pl. IX, 11 and Fig. 3, 11, which, by analogy, would relegate them to the fourth century at the earliest; the similar slab from Falerii is more ornate and belongs to the late third century. Akin to pl. IX, 1, but earlier and simpler, is the revetment from the Temple of Mercury at Falerii of the fifth century. Here the palmettes and lotus buds are surmounted by a simple maeander between two tori and capped by a narrow fluting. The fragments illustrated in Fig. 8, 11 and 111 are probably parts of the decoration round the doors.³

The subject of early Italic architectural terracottas is one about which we have still much to learn, but modern scientific excavations are daily adding to our knowledge, and when the important recent discoveries at Veii are published they will assuredly reveal a whole new chapter in the early art history of Italy.

American museums are to be congratulated upon the progressive and liberal spirit shown by those who have been entrusted with their development, in that they have acquired, not only unique and priceless examples of the flower of Classic Art, but also some extremely instructive specimens of the art handicraft in which was manifested, hardly less clearly, the spirit of the age and race which produced them.

E. DOUGLAS VAN BUREN.

ROME,
NOVEMBER, 1918.

¹ Berlin, *Terrak. Kat.*, No. 7537. *Ann. Inst.* 1881, pp. 44 ff. *Not. Scav.* 1879, pp. 30 ff.

² *Not Scav.* 1880, p. 447, fig. in text.

³ Cf. Temple of Mercury, Falerii. Helbig, *Führer*³, II, p. 339.

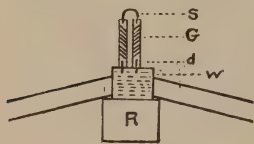
NOTE ON ETRUSCAN ARCHITECTURAL
TERRACOTTAS

IN the preceding pages, which, through the courtesy of the Editor of the JOURNAL, I was able to read in proof, Mrs. Van Buren has ably discussed the chronology of the revetments from Etruria, published by Mr. Leicester B. Holland and myself. While we are aware of the general principles involved in assigning dates to these terracottas, the principle to which we tried to adhere was based, perhaps too largely, on the presence or absence of similar palmette-lotus ornamentation on Greek vases, with due allowance for the later date of the Etruscan type. We believe firmly in the development of the designs one from the other, as worked out in our article; but we realize fully that Mrs. Van Buren has had access to material, about which, in the very nature of things, it was impossible for us to be in possession of full details. We therefore welcome the decision of the latest Italian authorities regarding the dating of these revetments, especially since immense quantities of unpublished material, the existence of which we could not have ascertained, are available in the Italian museums for comparison with the fragments published by us.

The point raised by Mrs. Van Buren about the openwork grill which Mr. Holland and I published in an earlier article is one in which we cannot agree with her. Whatever may be the case with other openwork grills, the one in Philadelphia was undoubtedly meant to be of two thicknesses, set back to back. That it could have had a plain base underneath the decorated base is impossible, since the bottom is the original surface, as a glance at our Figure 1 in that article will show. There are dowel holes on the bottom to attach it to the member below. That it was originally of two thicknesses is proven beyond peradventure by the presence of staples and staple-holes on the upper edges of the petals of the palmettes. We did not mean to imply that the grills were fastened into a round cover tile, although ridge tiles with palmettes attached have been found,¹ but that they were

¹See Perrot and Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, VII, pl. VII, 1 from Temple C at Selinus. Although the example is Greek, similar tiles may well have been used in Etruria. They are, however, in one piece, and can only be cited to prove decoration along the ridgepole, such as we have assumed.

built into a ridge wall against which the roof tiles abutted¹ (Fig. 1). Such a construction of a pent roof is common at the present time in Italy. Furthermore the evidence furnished by the Roman revetments in Boston² can hardly be dismissed by saying that the palmettes are there merely decorative. On the contrary, those revetments are purely architectural in their



design, and clearly show an openwork decoration on the ridge-pole, above the sloping roof with its rows of tiles which appear above the architrave. There is, therefore, here an "intervening member" between the ornamented ridgepole and the columns. Moreover, the confirmatory evidence furnished by Olympia and southern France can hardly be neglected.

Mr. Holland concurs with me in thanking Mrs. Van Buren for the interest which prompted her to write regarding our work: an interest which we recognize as of the highest value, knowing as we do her reputation as a student of terracottas; and he agrees with me in admitting the probability of her system of chronology being nearer the truth than ours for the reasons given above. I hope for my part that she will not object to our disagreeing with her on the position of the openwork grill. A frank and open discussion should only result in improving and strengthening the cordial relations already existing between members of the family of classical archaeologists.

STEPHEN BLEECKER LUCE.

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS,
APRIL, 1919.

¹ Cf. Choisy, *Hist. de l'Architecture*, I, pp. 531-532; Durm, *Baukunst der Römer*², pp. 327-328. Our figure is not drawn to scale, and is merely intended to show the principle. R=ridge pole; W=ridge wall; G=the pair of grills; d=dowels attaching grills to wall; S=staples hooking the grills together at the top. The grills were of course in close contact at the back.

² These revetments have been published by P. Hartwig, *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.* VI, 1903, pp. 16-31, pls. II-III, figs. 11-16; especially pl. III and fig. 11.

LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH
II¹

LUCIUS AQUILLIUS FLORUS

5 (Fig. 1) White marble block. Height 0.97 m. Width 0.47 m. Thickness 0.35 m. Found in a room immediately east of Pirene, June 1910.

Transcription:

*L(ucio) A[quillio C(aii) f(ilio) Pom(ptina tribu)
Fl]oro Turciano Gallo
X vir(o)] stlitib(us) iud(icandis) trib(uno) milit(um) leg(ionis)
VIII Mac(edonicae)
———proq]uaest(ori) Cypro ex auctoritate Aug(usti)
?tr(ibuno) pl(ebis)] pr(aetori) proco(n)s(uli) provinciae Ach[ai(ae)
Ti(berius) Claudi(us) Anaxilas et Ti(berius) Claudi(us) [?Optatus
II v] i(r)i quinq(uennales) sua pecunia [f(ecerunt)*

In line 5 the distance from the first bar of the last letter to the right side of the block is 0.045 m. In line 4 the letters run to 0.02 m. from the edge of the stone. There seems to be room for two more letters in line 5.

An inscription found at Athens² is repeated here because of its close connection with the stone at Corinth.

*L(ucio) Aquillio C(aii) f(ilio) Pom(ptina tribu) Floro
Turciano Gallo / X vir(o) stl(itibus) iud(icandis) tribuno mil(itum)
leg(ionis) VIIII / Macedonic(ae) quaestor(i) imp(eratoris)
Caesar(is)
Aug(usti) / proquaest(ori) provinc(iae) Cypri tr(ibuno) pl(ebis)
pr(aetori) proco(n)s(uli) Achaiae*

Ἡ βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου καὶ ἡ βουλὴ τῶν
ἐξακοσίων κα[ι] ὁ δῆμος Α. Ἀκύλλιον Φλῶρον
Τουρκιανὸν Γάλλον ἀνθύπατον εὐνοίας ἔνεκεν τῆς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν.
Ἐπὶ ἱερίας Ἰπποσθενίδος τῆς Νικοκλ[έ]ους Πιραιέως θυγατρὸς.

No argument is necessary to show that the man named in the inscription at Corinth is the same as the one honored by the Athenian inscription. The names are identical and the offices

¹ See *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, pp. 189–197.

² *C.I.L.* III, 551, add. p. 985.

are enumerated in the same order. The stones were erected by different persons and probably at different times.

Mommsen has discussed the relation of this Aquillius Florus

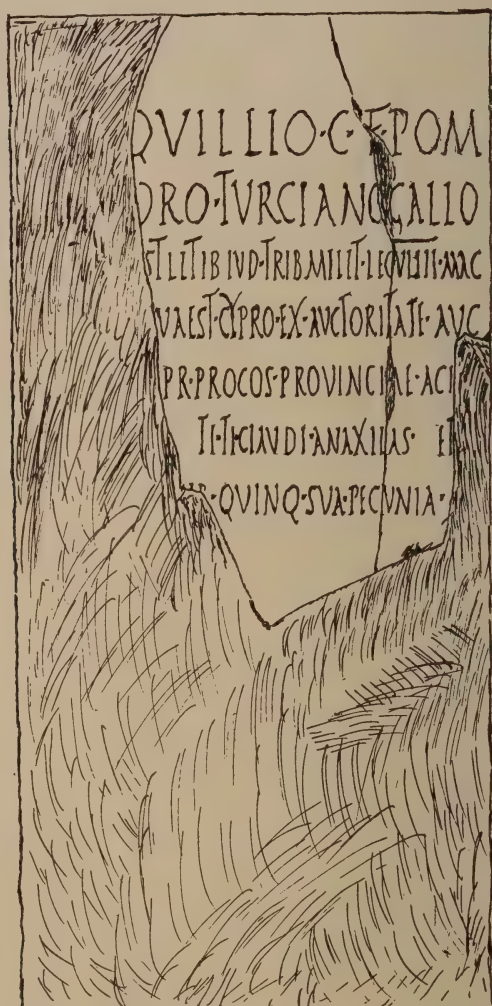


FIGURE 1.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, NO. 5.

to others of the same name in the commentary on the Athenian inscription. His suggestion is that this Aquillius Florus is the father of the *III vir monetalis* about the year 20 B.C. who bears

the same name. Both stones record the office of *decemvir stlitibus iudicandis* as the first held by Aquillius and following this comes the military tribunate held in the *legio VIII Macedonica*. Up to the time of finding this stone that legion was known only from the inscription at Athens and its editor has suggested that the *legio VIII Macedonica* may be the same as *legio IX triumphatrix* and *legio IX Hispana*, the name *Macedonica* being due to its bravery at Philippi.¹

The next office to be mentioned on the stone at Athens is that of *quaestor imperatoris Caesaris Augusti*. The Corinthian stone-cutter either did not have any such office mentioned in his copy or he confused it with the next office, that of *proquaestor* of Cyprus, to which are added the words *ex auctoritate Augusti*. It seems not unlikely that the form *Cypro* on the stone is due to the stone-cutter. It will be noticed that the combination of letters *PRO* appears twice in the next line and must have occurred at the beginning of line 4 so that the cutter, whose knowledge of Latin may have been small, was led to cut an 'O' where an 'I' was written in his copy.

In this discussion it is assumed that the quaestorship was not indicated in the original document from which the inscription was copied and that the stone preserves only the mention of the proquaestorship which Aquillius held in Cyprus on the authority, that is, on the appointment, of Augustus. As is well known the office of proquaestor is not uncommon in the time of the Republic, but for the imperial period the office is not often mentioned. Appointment of a proquaestor could be made by the governor of a province in case of a vacancy caused by the death or necessary absence of a quaestor. Or it sometimes happened that the number of quaestors appointed proved to be insufficient for all the provinces and someone who had already served as quaestor was named to fill out the number with the title of *proquaestor*. Cassius Dio speaks of two occasions, in 24 B.C. and 16 A.D., when such an appointment was found necessary.²

If one turns to the history of the province of Cyprus during the early part of the principate of Augustus it will be noted that Cyprus became an imperial province in 27 B.C., probably still attached to Cilicia. Five years later Augustus turned it over to the Senate.³

¹ *C.I.L.* V, 397; von Domaszewski, *Jh. Oest. Arch.* I. II, 1899, Beiblatt, p. 83.

² Cass. Dio, LIII, 28; LVII, 16.

³ Cass. Dio, LIV, 4.

It does not seem improbable, therefore, that on account of the addition of this province to the senatorial provinces there was an insufficient number of quaestors for that year and the Emperor asked his former quaestor Aquillius to serve as *proquaestor* in Cyprus until the Senate could elect officers in the usual way. It is possible, of course, that the dative *Cypro* on the stone is correct, and that we should explain it by saying that Aquillius was *proquaestor* for Cyprus on the appointment of Augustus.

The reading of the inscription at Athens gives good ground for the restoration at the beginning of line 5 of the letters indicating the office of tribune of the plebs. Following the praetorship Aquillius became proconsul of the province of Achaia. The date of his administration of the province has been given by Ruggiero¹ as before the battle at Actium, *i.e.*, before the year 31 B.C. That he could have been appointed as proconsul so early seems doubtful. Achaia was not constituted as a separate province until 27 B.C. The proconsulship certainly followed the proquaestorship and reasons have been given for assigning the latter office to the year 22 B.C. However, in 15 A.D. Achaia became an imperial province so that Aquillius was governor there before that date. All the indications, therefore, point to some date not many years after 22 B.C., possibly about 14 or 12 B.C.

The inscription concludes with the names of the dedicators. The repetition of the letters *Ti.* and the use of the nominative plural *Claudi(i)* indicates that two cognomina are to follow. One, Anaxilas, is preserved, the other is lost. The name Tiberius Claudius Anaxilas is known from Corinthian coins struck during the principate of Nero.² From other coins of this period we learn the name of another *duumvir* of Corinth, Tiberius Claudius Optatus, and the restoration of the cognomen Optatus is made in the transcription of the Corinthian inscription given above. Why these men paid for the setting up of an inscription in honor of a governor of the province who held office at least a half-century earlier, we may never know. It is not unreasonable to suppose that they restored an inscription which had been set up many years before.

¹ *Dizionario di ant. Rom.*, s. v. 'Achaia.'

² Cohen, I, p. 304.

MARCUS AGRIPPA

6 (Fig. 2) Bluish marble block. Height 0.50 m. Width 0.465 m. Thickness about 0.44 m. Found April 3, 1899, probably north of Pirene.

Transcription:

*M(arco) Agrippae co(n)s(uli)
tert(io) trib(unicia) potest(ate)
d(edit) d(edicavit) tribus Vinicia
patrono*

Marcus Agrippa was consul for the third time in 27 B.C. and received the tribunician power in 18 B.C. He died in 12 B.C. This inscription was set up then between 18 and 12 B.C., possibly about 16 B.C., when he passed through Corinth on his way to the East, or on his return in 12 B.C.¹ The dedication to Agrippa on the large base at Athens² is not dated. Although the *tribunicia potestas* is not there recorded, it is not impossible that the base was erected at about the same time as the stones at Corinth and Sparta.

The *tribus Vinicia* was a division of the city of Corinth under Roman rule.³ The wording of the inscription leads us to think that the tribe Vinicia had formally chosen Agrippa as its *patronus* and wished thus to commemorate its choice; and in so doing they honored themselves as much as their patron. It is possible that Agrippa was a *patronus* of the *colonia Laus Iulia Corinthus* and not of a single tribe, for we know from another inscription⁴ that there was in Corinth a *tribus Agrippa*. Had Agrippa wished to become the *patronus* of any *tribus* one would expect him to hold that relation to the tribe which bore his name.

The majority of inscriptions erected in provincial towns to *patroni* state openly or imply clearly that the *patronus* is *patronus*



FIGURE 2.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 6.

¹ Cf. *C.I.L.* III, 493, at Sparta, which is dated 736-742 A.U.C. = 18-12 B.C.

² *I.G.* III, 575.

³ *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, pp. 195-197.

⁴ To be published shortly.

coloniae. An inscription much like this one at Corinth has been found at Gurza in Northern Africa.¹ It reads *L(ucio) Antonio Rogato Curiales curiae Antoniae patrono et . . .*; the remainder is lost. Here it will be noticed that the *curia* honors a *patronus* whose name it bears.

CNAEUS BABBIUS PHILINUS

7 (Fig. 3) Marble epistyle block from a round building. Height 0.645 m. Length 1.70 m. Thickness 0.58 m. Dowel, pry, and clamp holes on top. Egg and dart and astragal mould-

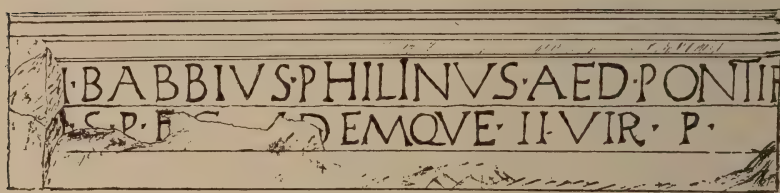


FIGURE 3.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 7.

ings almost completely destroyed. Letters 0.08 to 0.07 m. in height. Found June 17, 1907, southwest of the shop with a barrel-vaulted roof still preserved in the agora.

Transcription:

Cn(aeus) Babbius Philinus aed(ilis) pontif(ex)

?q(uaestor) s(ua) p(ecunia) f(aciendum) c(uravit) idemque II vir p(osuit) or p(robavit)

8 (Fig. 4) Marble block used as a base. Smooth on all sides. On top a rectangular cutting 0.785×0.285 m. for holding a

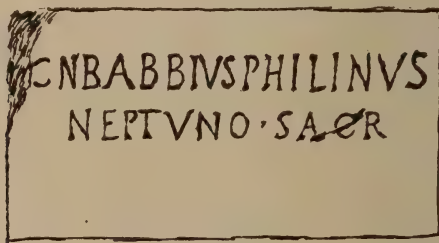


FIGURE 4.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 8.

¹*C.I.L.* VIII, 72.

statue or a stele. Height of stone 0.31 m. Length 1.205 m. Width 0.565 m. Found June 25, 1907, not far from No. 7.

Transcription:

Cn(aeus) Babbius Philinus

Neptuno sacr(um)

9 (Fig. 5) Poros architrave block, now built into a late wall west of St. John's Church. Height 0.545 m. Length 1.55 m.; the stone was originally longer; the surface of the right end

CN BABBIVS PHILII

FIGURE 5.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 9.

shows later cutting. Thickness 0.55–0.49 m. Remains of cement stucco on the surface of the stone. Height of letters 0.12 m. The drawing reproduces the letters only, as the location of the stone made the taking of measurements very difficult. Date of finding not known.

Transcription:

Cn(aeus) Babbius Philin(us)

10 (Fig. 6) Fragment of a marble architectural block now in two pieces. Height 0.25 m. Width 0.40 m. Thickness 0.66 m.

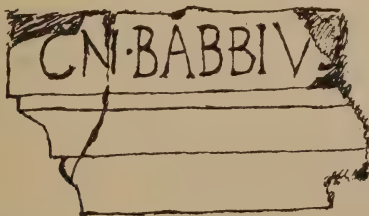


FIGURE 6.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 10.

Height of inscribed face 0.10 m. In the Museum at Corinth; no record of date or place of finding obtainable.

Transcription:

Cn(aeus) Babbius

11 (Fig. 7) Fragment of marble architectural block. Measurements indicated in the cross section given with the drawing

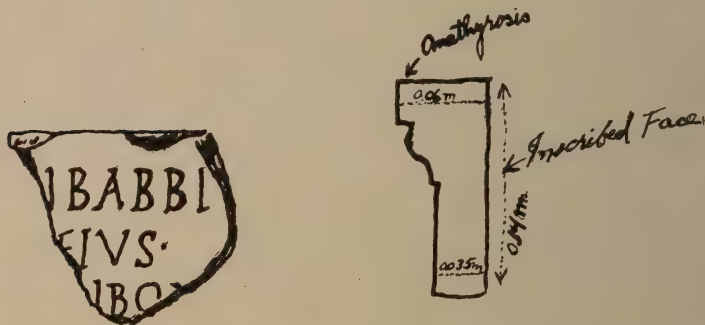


FIGURE 7.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 11.

of the stone. Like No. 10, this stone is in the Museum at Corinth but without data concerning its discovery.

Transcription:

C]n(aeus) Babb[us—————
 eius—————
 ?bo?—————

12 (Fig. 8) Top of a bluish marble slab. Length 0.28 m. Height 0.055 m. Thickness 0.095 m. Found April (?), 1898, place not recorded. Only the upper portion of the following letters preserved, *Babbius P[hilinus]*. The stone is too small to show what its original size and shape were; nor can we determine the character of the monument of which it formed a part.

The name of Cnaeus Babbius Philinus has come down to us in whole or in part in six inscriptions. Of these four are on blocks



FIGURE 8.—LATIN INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH, No. 12.

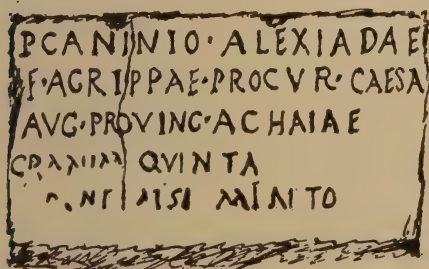
belonging to buildings which Babbius caused to be erected. Number 7, as was noted above, was cut on a frieze block belong-

ing to the circular building of early Roman imperial times which replaced the Greek temple with an apse-like end.¹ The circular building stood near the ancient Greek fountain in the agora.²

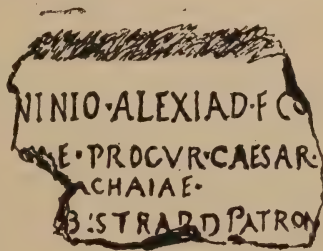
Cnaeus Babbius Philinus was evidently a man of considerable wealth who held the offices of aedile, pontifex, quaestor perhaps, and duumvir. The office of pontifex is mentioned on another stone from Corinth.³ The dedication to the sea-god may have marked an altar or a small temple of Neptune.

PUBLIUS CANINIUS AGRIPPA

13 (Fig. 9, A) Marble block. Height originally 0.40 m. With the exception of a small portion the original upper surface has been cut away 0.08 m. Width 0.535 m. Thickness 0.61 m.



A



B

FIGURE 9.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH: A, No. 13; B, No. 14.

Lines 4 and 5, except the word *Quinta*, appear to have been added later. In the Museum at Corinth. Nothing is known concerning date and place of finding.

Transcription:

P(ublio) Caninio Alexiadae
f(ilio) Agrippae procur(atori) Caesa(ris)
Aug(usti) provinc(iae) Achaiae
Quinta

14 (Fig. 9, B) Marble block much broken. The original surface is preserved on the top and possibly on the bottom, but the latter

¹ D. M. Robinson, 'Recent Archaeological Work in Greece,' *A.J.A.* XII, 1908, p. 67 (summary).

² A set of drawings of the Roman building dedicated by Babbius has been made by H. D. Wood; see *A.J.A.* XII, 1908, Suppl. p. 15.

³ To be published shortly. For other instances of it in provincial towns see *C.I.L.* III, Index, p. 2522, s.v. 'pontifex.'

is very rough. Height 0.305 m. Width 0.39 m. Thickness 0.52 m. Roughly cut moulding along upper edge of stone. Letters of line 4 are not so well cut as those in lines 1-3 and seem to be later. Line 4: First letter probably B; sixth letter seems to be R; the following letter, D, is somewhat better cut than the other letters in line 4. Found June (?), 1903, place not recorded.

Transcription:

*P(ublio) Ca]ninio Alexiad(ae) f(ilio) Co[r(nelia?)
Agripp]ae procur(atori) Caesar(is)
Aug(usti) prov(inciae)] Achaiae*
—————*b strar D patron(o)*

We have two inscriptions in honor of Publius Caninius Agrippa the son of Alexiadidas, a procurator of the province Achaia, probably during the principate of Tiberius. Corinthian coins struck during this principate preserve the name P. Caninius Agrippa, recording also the fact that the man who bore the name was *duumvir quinquennalis* of Corinth.¹ It seems almost certain that inscription and coins refer to the same man and we may conclude that the stone was erected during the reign of Tiberius.

The last lines of both inscriptions appear to be in part, if not wholly, later additions and no satisfactory explanation of them has been found. It does not seem likely that this Caninius was related,—or at least not closely related,—to Caninius Rebilus the consul on the last day of December, 45 B.C.

QUINTUS CISPULEIUS THEOPHILUS

15 (Fig. 10, A) Base of white marble, broken at bottom, dowel hole in the top; it may have supported a statue. Height 0.51 m. Width 0.425 m. Thickness 0.33 m. Found April 21, 1898, place not recorded. Line 6: Some letters are missing at the right end of the line.

Transcription:

*Q(uinto) Cispuleio
Q(uinti) f(ilio) Aem(ilia tribu)
Theophilo
decurionalibus
et aediliciis ornament(is)*

¹ Cohen, I, p. 205.

d(ecreto) d(ecurionum) honorato
Q(uintus) Cispul [eius] ———

The inscription tells its own story. A Roman citizen of Greek ancestry, judging from the cognomen, had held the local offices and received from the *decuriones* this mark of honor.¹ The inscription appears to have been set up by a relative. The conclusion is lacking.

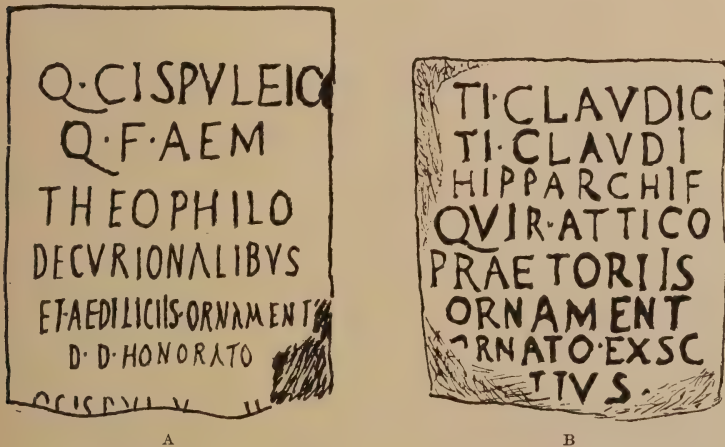


FIGURE 10.—LATIN INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH: A, No. 15; B, No. 16.

TIBERIUS CLAUDIUS ATTICUS

16 (Fig. 10, B) White marble block. Height 0.67 m. Width 0.465 m. Thickness 0.33 m. Letters very well cut. Found May 23, 1896, place not recorded. Now in New Corinth.

Transcription:

Ti(berio) Claudio
Ti(berii) Claudi(i)
Hipparchi f(ilio)
Qvir(ina tribu) Attico
praetoriis
ornament(is)
ornato ex s(enatus) c(onsulto)
l(aetus) l(ibens) v(otum) s(olvit).

¹For *ornamenta decurionalia et aedilicia* see Daremberg-Saglio, *s.v.* 'Ornamenta.'

It appears that this stone preserves the name of one of the leading citizens of Corinth, a Roman citizen of Greek lineage, as the *cognomina* show, who received from the Senate at Rome the *ornamenta praetoria*.¹ From the form of the letters the inscription probably belongs to the first century after Christ. The letters in the last line are somewhat puzzling. It is possible that we should read TIVS and perhaps interpret *Ti(berius) v(ivus) s(ibi)*. In the reading given above it is assumed that the name of the person giving the inscription followed in a line now lost.

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¹ For *ornamenta praetoria* see Daremberg-Saglio, s.v. 'Ornamenta.'

ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS¹

SUMMARIES OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES CHIEFLY IN CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

WILLIAM N. BATES, *Editor*

220 St. Mark's Square, Philadelphia, Pa.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Brazen Serpent Made by Moses and the Healing Serpents of Esculapius.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 36-49, MAURICE VERNES finds that the scene of the elevation of the brazen serpent was at or near Obot, in eastern Arabia, on the confines of Moab. There are copper mines in the neighborhood. Here was, the author supposes, a sanctuary of Eshmoun (Greek Asclepius), and Moses may have brought away with him a bronze image of one of the sacred serpents. A brazen serpent was much later destroyed by Hezekiah (*II Kings*, XVIII, 4). This was supposed by the people to have been made by Moses. The name Obot signifies Spirits of the dead which are invoked and, therefore, supports the theory that there was a sanctuary of Eshmoun at that place. The bronze serpent destroyed by Hezekiah probably did not date from the time of Moses, but more likely from that of David.

Bronze Razors.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 259-262 (2 figs.) M. VALOTAIRE publishes side by side a razor of the Bronze Age and an iron razor from Abyssinia in the museum at Samur. Both have the same nearly circular form, which may serve as a proof, if proof were still needed, that the so-called circular bronze razors really are razors.

The So-called "Bow-puller."—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 24-41 (19 figs.), R. SMITH discusses the bronze object sometimes called a "bow-puller." He recognizes the fact that this name is not correct and tries to prove with the help of similar bronzes found in England that these objects were attached to the cheek straps of a horse's bridle with the spines pointed inward, so that a pull on one rein would press the points into the cheek on the opposite side. If the nose-band and chin-strap passed through one or both loops of a pair of these bronzes the points would always remain at right angles to the cheek. He quotes a harness-maker in support of his theory.

The Kermes in Antiquity.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 92-112, J. and CH. COTTE collect the Greek and Latin passages in which the Kermes (*Coccus ilicis*) is mentioned. It was widely used in making red dye and also

¹ The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor BATES, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor C. N. BROWN, Miss MARY H. BUCKINGHAM, Dr. T. A. BUENGER, Dr. L. D. CASKEY, Professor HAROLD R. HASTINGS, Professor ELMER T. MERRILL, Professor LEWIS B. PATON, Professor A. S. PEASE, Professor S. B. PLATNER, Professor JOHN C. ROLFE, Dr. JOHN SHAPLEY, Professor A. L. WHEELER and the Editors, especially Professor MARQUAND.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after December 31, 1918.

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see pp. 99-100.

in medicine. The ancient names for the creature show that it was regarded as a worm or inferior animal. The word furnished by Pliny, *Cusculium*, and the Basque *bermejoa* were used in southern France before the coming of the Romans. From *bermejoa*, the Castilian *bermejo* and all such words as *vermilion* are derived.

Note on the Libyan Alphabet.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1917, pp. 558-564, J. B. CHABOT discusses the significance of certain letters in the Libyan alphabet and tries especially to establish the value of the character made with four vertical strokes.

Thracian Archaeology.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 76-91 (fig.), GEORGES SEURE continues his discussions of unknown or little known Thracian monuments and inscriptions (see *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, p. 200). In this article six inscriptions are published, all Latin epitaphs. The names Drizu(parus?) and Farfinias seem to be new. Nos. 156 and 157 come from tombs near the village of Artchar. These tombs form five groups. Most of them had vaulted ceilings.

A Gold Ornament in New York.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 11-13 (fig.), Sir MARTIN CONWAY publishes a gold ornament in the collection of Mr. J. P. Morgan of New York. It represents an eagle with spread wings inside a circle which was originally surrounded by eighteen stones of a grayish-green color. Seven of these now remain. It is Scythian work of the third century A.D., but of Roman derivation.

Cruciform Interlacing Ornaments.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 197-209 (20 figs.), Dr. CAPITAN discusses the extent and variety of cruciform interlacing ornaments in different parts of the world. In the earliest example, found at Susa and dating from the time of Naram Sin, two serpents compose the design.



FIGURE 1.—STATUETTE OF ONE OF THE "SOULS OF PE":
NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Sometimes this type of ornament probably had some mystic significance, but in most cases it was simply a decorative motive. Its use was extensive on both sides of the Atlantic.

EGYPT

Bronze Statuettes in New York.—In the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society, II, 1918, pp. 43-53 (12 figs.) Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS calls attention to several of the bronze statuettes from Egypt in the collection of the New York Historical Society. The most remarkable (1) represents one of the "Souls of Pe." It is a falcon-headed figure kneeling in



FIGURE 2.—STATUETTE OF A NEGRO CAPTIVE: NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

an attitude of adoration (Fig. 1), and was cast in one piece over a core. The subject is very rare among Egyptian bronzes; the only parallels which can be cited are two bronze statuettes in the museum at Cairo. The others are, (2) a fine statuette of Hathor with cow's head in which the eyes are inlaid in gold and electrum; (3) a cat-headed figure of Bast; (4) a human-headed figure of Bast; (5) a group of a cat and four kittens; (6) a throne for a statuette of Harpocrates with a human suppliant before it; (7) a nude standing figure of Harpocrates wearing the crowns of Upper and Lower Egypt with a small box for an amulet in front of him; (8) a kneeling negro, 14.3 cm. high, with hands tied behind his back, evidently a captive (Fig. 2). It was cast solid and is apparently unique. The last statuette discussed (9) is a realistic figure of a priest. The arms were cast separately and doweled into the shoulders.

Wooden Statuettes in New York.—In the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society, II, 1918, pp. 75–88 (17 figs.), Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS calls attention to some of the Egyptian wooden statuettes of gods in the possession of the Society. (1) One is a jackal-headed figure 34.7 cm. high in the back of which is a cavity 16 cm. high, 1.7 cm. wide and 2 cm. deep still containing part of a tightly rolled papyrus. As early as the eighteenth dynasty there were deposited in the tombs wooden statuettes containing magical papyri intended to aid the dead man in his journey in the other world. This statuette is probably later than the twenty-first dynasty. (2) A statuette of Osiris, 52.7 cm. high, dating from the twenty-second dynasty, probably served for the same purpose. (3) Another statuette of Osiris has a hollow in the base, probably to hold a small mummified animal. (4) A statuette of Bast and (5) an Osiris seated against an obelisk were also reliquaries. (6) Still another Osiris figure contained grasses wrapped in linen, perhaps intended to represent a mummified serpent. (7) A statuette of Bast, 43 cm. high, represents the goddess seated with arms at her sides and hands near her knees. This was made in two halves and contained the mummy of a cat. It probably dates from the Ptolemaic period. (8) One of the best statuettes in the collection is that of a standing male figure, 37 cm. high, covered with bitumen and probably dating from the eighteenth dynasty. (9) A statuette of Osiris, 20.2 cm. high, is remarkable because its surface covering of gold is nearly intact. (10) Still another Osiris has its gold leaf surface finely preserved.

Two Reliefs in New York.—In the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society, II, 1918, pp. 14–21 (2 figs.), Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS publishes two of the forty or more Egyptian reliefs belonging to the Society. The first is one of four sculptured blocks from the tomb of a certain Semenkhuptah and dates from the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth dynasty. The head of the deceased is shown without wig or beard and is a strong realistic portrait. The site of the tomb is recorded by Mariette as north of the Step Pyramid of Sakkara. The second is a temple relief dating from the reign of Se-ankh-ka-re of the eleventh dynasty. It is 4 ft. 4 in. long and 2 ft. 7½ in. high and was found at Erment, the ancient Hermonthis. Parts of two scenes are preserved. At the right the king is standing before the goddess Wazit; at the left he appears again, this time wearing the crown of Lower Egypt. The portraits are ideal, and the whole relief modeled and finished with great delicacy. A similar portrait of Se-ankh-ka-re was found by the French on the island of Elephantine in 1908.

A Memphite Statuette of the New Empire.—A comparison of the art of Memphis with that of Thebes accompanies G. BÉNÉDITE's publication in *Gaz. B.-A.* XIV, 1918, pp. 115–122 (pl.; 2 figs.) of a Memphite statuette of the end of the eighteenth dynasty in the Louvre. A fine example for comparison with this representation of the Priest Zai is the Theban figure (nineteenth dynasty) of the Priestess Toui. These two are characteristic of the arts of the two cities. The Memphite figure is precise, hard, restrained, conceived in a cold elegance; while the Theban priestess is infinitely more supple, more abandoned, and free. They show the difference in temperament that exists in all latitudes between the north and the south.

A Nomarch of Edfou of the Sixth Dynasty.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 105–115, A. MORET translates and comments upon an inscription found

at Edfou relating to the career of the nomarch Kara, surnamed Pepinefer, under the first three kings of the sixth dynasty. As a child he was included in the group of sons of nomarchs educated by the king. These boys had certain duties to perform at court, although they were really hostages. In the first year of Merenra he was made nomarch of Wtes-Hor at Edfou where his father had held the same office. The inscription throws considerable light upon certain Egyptian institutions.

Maspero's Introduction to Egyptian Phonetics.—At the time of his death Professor Maspero was engaged in writing a work on Egyptian grammar, the first section of which had to do with Egyptian writing. Two parts dealing respectively with the consonants and the vowels were completed, and a third on the sonants begun. Unfortunately no papers were left to show how he intended to finish this chapter. Maspero's object was to set forth in this work the results of his long years of study in the field of Egyptology. Enough was written to show that he differed from the Berlin school. (É. NAVILLE, *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 167-170.)

Egyptian Bibliography.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 158-176, SEYMOUR DE RICCI continues (see *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, p. 442) his sketch of Egyptian Bibliography. The divisions of Museography and Philology are included in this instalment.

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

Babylonian Symbolism in the Cassite Period.—In *Mus. J.* IX, 1918, pp. 151-156 (fig.), S. L(ANGDON) describes a Babylonian tablet in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania which dates from about 1600 B.C. It bears a note of the scribe which begins, "Let the knowing instruct the knowing, and let him who does not know not read," words also found on a few of the tablets of Asurbanipal at Nineveh. The text explains the divine powers which are controlled or symbolized by various substances and utensils employed in the rituals. Thus the jar of holy water signifies Ninhabursildu, queen of incantations; the tamerisk signifies the god of the heavens; the head of the date palm, Tammuz; the cypress, the aid of Adad; the censer invokes the god of the spring sun, Urasha, etc. It also gives the only information yet recovered about the mystic meanings of metals. Silver is the god of the heavens, gold the earth god, copper the god of the sea, lead the great mother goddess. The reverse of this tablet has to do with cryptic connections between fruits employed in rituals and parts of the human body, *e.g.*, wine and the eyes, figs and the loins, mead and the legs. Another section explains how certain deities have power over houses and cities; and still another is a philological commentary on certain difficult cult words.

An Ode to the Word in a Sumerian Liturgy.—In *Mus. J.* IX, 1918, pp. 157-163 (fig.), S. L(ANGDON) discusses a tablet in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania containing an "Ode to the Word." It originally consisted of five columns of about fifty lines on each side, or about five hundred lines for the whole liturgy. It is a lament for the destruction of the city of Ur divided into about twelve melodies, and was probably composed in the dynasty of Isin. The fifth melody is an ode to the Word, or Spirit of Wrath, and is unique. It reads:

Enlil utters the spirit of wrath and the people wail.

The spirit of wrath has destroyed prosperity in the land, and the people wail.

The spirit of wrath has taken peace from Sumer and the people wail.

He sent the woeful spirit of wrath and the people wail.

The "Messenger of Wrath" and the "Assisting Spirit" into his hand he entrusted.

He has spoken the spirit of wrath which exterminates the Land and the nation wails.

Enlil sent Gibil as his helper.

The great wrathful spirit from heaven was spoken and the people wail.

Ur like a garment thou hast destroyed, like a . . . thou hast scattered.

About half of this song to the Word has been lost.

Cappadocian Tablets in Philadelphia.—In *Mus. J.* IX, 1918, pp. 148–150, A. H. S(AYCE) gives a brief account of the so-called Cappadocian tablets, dating from the third dynasty of Ur (2500 B.C.), in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania. Most of them are commercial documents, but there are some letters. One tablet has to do with the sale of a boy by his parents.

The Excavations of Victor Place.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 113–130, MAURICE PILLET concludes (see *A. J. A.* XXI, 1917, p. 453) his publication of letters and documents relating to the excavations of Victor Place in Assyria and the transportation to the Louvre of some of the objects he found.

SYRIA AND PALESTINE

Religious Employment of Megalithic Monuments by the Ancient Hebrews.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 275–290, MAURICE VERNES advances the theory that the Hebrews adopted megalithic cromlechs (circles of twelve stones representing the twelve stations of the Zodiac) into their own religious history by making the twelve stones symbolize the twelve tribes of Israel. The "Gilgal" near Jericho (*Joshua* IV, 1–11, 19–24), another, perhaps, at Sichem, one at Mount Sinai (*Exodus* XXIV, 4–8), and the altar at Mount Carmel (*I Kings*, XVIII) are discussed as grounds for the theory.

Eastern Exploration Past and Future.—Under the title *Eastern Exploration Past and Future* (London, 1918, Constable & Co. 118 pp. 8vo. 2s. 6d. net), W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE publishes three lectures delivered by him at the Royal Institution. In the first he sketches the history of Palestine in the light of modern studies and excavations, and in the second he does the same for Mesopotamia. In the third, which he entitles "The Future," he argues that in the reconstitution of Mesopotamia and Palestine after the war great care must be taken for the preservation of ancient remains and the protection of the historical documents which are known to exist beneath the soil. Provision should be made for research, and excavation be permitted freely to any scholar of standing who has had the proper training. Furthermore there should be no government monopoly of antiquities. Every effort should be made, *e.g.*, by paying a higher price for them than could be obtained elsewhere, to induce all who make chance discoveries to turn over their finds to the properly constituted authorities. In Jerusalem all building should be forbidden, and a new city established a mile or two to the southwest in the Vale of Rephaim, or

better two miles to the northwest in the valley running down from Ramah. The old city could then be gradually cleared down to the Solomonic level, except where churches and other important buildings are located, and its historical monuments be made accessible and preserved for all time.

GREECE

SCULPTURE

A Female Figure in the Early Style of Phidias.—A statue recently added to the Ashmolean Gallery of Sculpture at Oxford, from the Hope Collection at Deepdene, is published and discussed by P. GARDNER in *J.H.S.* XXXVIII,



FIGURE 3.—GREEK STATUE IN THE STYLE OF PHIDIAS:
ASHMOLEAN MUSEUM, OXFORD.

1918, pp. 1-26 (3 pls.; 8 figs.). It is of Pentelic marble and in an unusually good state of preservation, and appears from the style to be an original Greek work from an Athenian studio, probably that of Phidias, of the period 460-440 B.C., hence earlier than the Parthenon sculptures. The figure (Fig. 3) is of heroic size (6 feet high) and wears the Ionic linen chiton covered, except on the upper arm, by the heavy woolen Doric peplos. The hair is bound with a hood-like fillet and has two short, stiff curls in front of each ear,—a transition style from the earlier long shoulder-curl. The forearms are missing. The

face is so individual as to indicate a portrait only slightly idealized. A comparison with other somewhat similar statues and heads and a consideration of the historical circumstances of the time suggest that it is a portrait of Aspasia in the guise of Aphrodite. Another female statue of the same period, which has been put together by Amelung, has the same unusual appearance of slightly idealized portraiture. This is a heavily draped figure wearing the matron's veil and is thought to be a copy of the Sosandra of Calamis which was dedicated on the Acropolis by Callias. If this is so, it is probably a portrait of Elpinice, wife of Callias and sister of Cimon, who obtained from Pericles the pardon of her brother when he was accused of treason in 463 B.C.

Greek Lion Monuments.—The colossal monolithic recumbent Lion of Cnidus, now in the British Museum, is a superb example of Greek adaptation of sculpture to its environment, even the empty eye-sockets, by the play of light and shade, giving the effect of real eyes. It was set upon a square, pyramidal-topped tomb, forty feet high, which crowned a bold and rocky headland, probably the burial place of the Athenians who fell in Conon's victory over the Lacedaemonians in 394 B.C. The Lion of Venice, which was brought from the Piraeus, may have commemorated the same event. The Lion of Chaeronea, commemorating in the same way the Thebans who fell fighting against Philip of Macedon in 338, was broken into fragments during the Greek War of Independence, but has recently been set up again on a modern pedestal. It is sitting up on its haunches with the fore legs quite vertical. The fallen Lion of Hamadan (Ecbatana), now lying on the ground, probably had originally the same attitude, and was likewise a Hellenistic work, commemorating Alexander's visits to the city. (W. R. LETHABY, *J.H.S.* XXXVIII, 1918; pp. 37-44; 4 figs.)

VASES

Seven Vases from the Hope Collection.—Two black-figured lecythi, two red-figured cotylae, a column crater, and two cylices, all from the Hope sale, are published with brief comments by the new owner, W. LAMB, in *J.H.S.* XXXVIII, 1918, pp. 27-36 (pl.; 8 figs.). The scene of dragging the body of Hector in the dust, on one of the lecythi, is of the type in which Achilles is driving the chariot past the tomb of Patroclus and the *eidolon* of Patroclus is seen flying in the air. The other lecythus has the common subject of the harnessing of a quadriga, and four bearded men wearing wreaths. The cotylae, made with one vertical and one horizontal handle, have satyrs, a flying Eros, and an athlete holding his hand out over an altar. The crater shows a woman giving a drink to a young soldier, with two other figures at the sides, and on the reverse three draped athletes conversing. A nude youth leaning on a pillar on one of the cylices, has his head thrown back as if looking at something in the sky.

Two Black-figured Onoi.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIII, 1918, pp. 235-237 (4 figs.), MARY LOIS KISSEL calls attention to two black-figured *onoi*, or implements used in making rove for spinning, in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Horses and chariots are painted on one, while on the other women are represented washing and beating wool and making it ready for the distaff.

INSCRIPTIONS

The Cretan War of 204 B.C.—In *R. Ét. Gr.* XXX, 1917, pp. 88–104, M. HOLLEAUX shows that the Cretan War mentioned in the decree of Halasarna in honor of a certain *Θευκλῆς Ἀγλάου* (published by Herzog, *Klio*, II, 1902, pp. 316 ff.) is the same war as that mentioned in the inscription of Nisyros (*I.G.* XII, 3, 103). It began in 204 B.C. Both decrees date from 201.

The Inscriptions of Delphi.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 209–251, ÉMILE BOURGUET discusses the publication of inscriptions from Delphi in the third edition of the *Sylloge Inscriptionum Graecarum* by Pomtow. He shows by many examples how Pomtow used the work of others without right and without acknowledgement and also shows that his publication contains so many errors as to make it thoroughly untrustworthy. In the inscription p. 240, Inv. No. 4678, the archon's name is certainly not to be restored as **Ἀρχωνος* (so Pomtow); perhaps *Θηβαγόρα* is the correct reading.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Greek Theatre.—Professor ROY C. FLICKINGER of Northwestern University has published a book on the Greek theatre. In an introduction of 118 pages he discusses the origin of tragedy and of comedy and describes the Greek theatre as known from extant remains and from literary testimony. He then takes up in turn the influence of the religious origin on the drama, of the choral origin, of the actors, festival arrangements, physical conditions, national customs, theatrical customs and ideas, theatrical machinery, dramatic conventions, and finally the theatrical records. [*The Greek Theater and its Drama*. By ROY C. FLICKINGER. Chicago, 1918, University of Chicago Press. xxviii, 358 pp.; 76 figs. 8vo. \$3.00.]

Scheria-Corcyra.—In *Cl. Phil.* XIII, 1918, pp. 321–334, A. SHEWAN supports, upon philological grounds, Bérard's identification of the Homeric Scheria and the modern Corcyra.

ITALY

SCULPTURE

The Roman Sarcophagus of Belluno.—In *Atene e Roma*, XXI, 1918, pp. 47–49, G. BELLISSIMA describes a Roman sarcophagus found at Belluno in 1480 and still preserved there. It was made for a certain C. Flavius Hostilius and his *incomparabilis coniunx*, Domitia, as the inscription states. Figures of Hostilius wearing the toga and of his wife stand on either side of the inscription. On the opposite side of the sarcophagus Hostilius is seen mounted on a mule returning from a boar hunt. On one of the ends a youth on horseback (Hostilius?) is fighting a boar; and on the other a middle-aged man (also Hostilius?) is slaying a stag. The monument is of late Roman date.

A Roman Bust in Milan.—In *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 58–66 (12 figs.), C. ALBIZZATI writes on a bronze Roman bust (Fig. 4) from Lodi Vecchio acquired by the Archaeological Museum of Milan in 1864. The bust portrays a civilian between maturity and old age of a type still common in Lombardy. The features are delicate and regular, the expression instantaneous

and penetrating. The hair and beard are carved with incomparable boldness and the modelling of the whole bust is minute and exact. Comparisons with dated sculptures and coins places the date of the Milan bronze between 270 and 300 A.D. It is the work of a superior artist, and is affiliated with the better productions of his time, among which this portrait is one of the best.

The Death of Turnus in Etruscan Art.—In *Atene e Roma*, XXI, 1918, pp.

94–103 (3 figs.), N. TERZAGHI discusses the figure of a kneeling warrior in full armor and with drawn sword which appears on one end of two Etruscan funeral chests in the museum at Florence (Nos. 74232 and 75509). A bird perched on his helmet is striking at the warrior's eyes. Terzaghi thinks that the scene represents the death of Turnus, and that the artists had in mind a myth which Vergil afterwards used in the *Aeneid* (XII, 861 ff.). He also argues that the same story is represented on the right side of the chariot from Monteleone in New York.



FIGURE 4.—ROMAN BUST: MILAN

INSCRIPTIONS

Notes on the Inscription of Volubilis.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 227–232, É. CUG discusses various places in the great inscription of Volubilis (see *A.J.A.* XXI, 1917, p. 102), pointing out where his interpretation differs from that proposed by de Sanctis in *Atti della R. Accademia delle scienze di Torino*, 1918, pp. 453–458.

The Roman Milestones at Juvigny.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 157–160, SEYMOUR DE RICCI points out that although the village of

Juvigny, 8 km. north of Soissons, was utterly destroyed by the Germans the three Roman milestones preserved there were uninjured. He succeeded in reading the last part of these inscriptions which had previously defied decipherment as, *vias [et] [po]nte[s] vetust[ate] conlabsas res[ti]tuit ab Aug. L. . . .*

A Lost Inscription Rediscovered.—In *Not. Scav.* XIV, 1917; pp. 329–331, G. MARRUCHI publishes a fragmentary inscription, which was seen in the seventeenth century by Suarez in the pavement of the cathedral of S. Agapito at Palestrina and has recently been rediscovered in the Via delle Grotte. It was published in *C.I.L.* XIV, 2983, by Dessau, who mistakenly regarded the first three lines as mediaeval and consequently omitted them. As published in full with supplements by Marruchi the inscription seems to contain the names Dindius and Magulnius, recalling Dindia Macolnia of the Ficoroni cista.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Industries of Pompeii.—The trade, manufactures, and general economic life of an ancient city of the period of the Roman Empire are discussed by T. FRANK, in *Cl. Phil.* XIII, 1918, pp. 225–240, upon the basis of evidence offered by the remains of Pompeii.

A Model for an Etruscan Mirror.—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XX, 1918, pp. 77–112 (12 figs.) W. DEONNA publishes an object of bronze in Geneva shaped like an Etruscan mirror, but much heavier (the weight is 1.2 kg.) and with the design very deeply cut. Upon it are two figures bending over a polygonal-shaped enclosure in which appears a human head. The names, as well as the attributes of the figures make it clear that they represent Athena (MENEDFA) and Perseus (ΦEDME) gazing at a reflection of the Gorgon's head in a pool. An Etruscan mirror in Florence has the same scene engraved upon it except that the positions of the figures are reversed. It is evident that the design was to be seen as in the mirror in Florence, for Athena is holding her spear in her left hand, Perseus his knife in his left hand, etc. Deonna shows that it could not have been a mirror, but was a model from which the design was transferred reversed to metal disks for engraving, though the exact nature of the process is unknown. The model is Etruscan and dates from the fifth century B.C., but was copied from a Greek source. Numerous analogies with Attic vases of the severe red-figured style are pointed out. No other such model is known.

The Location of the Portus Lunae.—In *Atene e Roma*, XXI, 1918, pp. 131–158 (7 figs.), L. PARETI discusses the evidence for the location of the Portus Lunae and shows that it lay near the mouth of the Magra, which, in antiquity, was further to the south than it is to-day. The town of Luna was northeast of Marinella where remains of an amphitheatre, etc., are still to be seen. Excavations would probably yield important results.

Samos Parva.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 252–258 (map), S. REINACH argues that in Lucan's account of Pompey's flight (VIII, 243–249) the expression *parvae* . . . *Sami* (245–246) should be emended to read *laevae* . . . *Sami*.

FRANCE

Ancient Stations of the Lower Loire.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 263–274, LÉON MAITRE briefly describes the numerous ancient stations along the Loire from Varades to Saint Nazaire (the earlier name of which appears to have been Nyon). These stations, chiefly villas, are for the most

part on the right bank of the river. Remains of walls and floors have been found, in several instances with hypocausts. Some small objects, such as coins, have also come to light.

Objects Relating to the Worship of Isis in Gaul.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 177-178, W. DEONNA, with reference to a recent article by E. Guimet (see *A.J.A.* XX, 1916, p. 498) mentions as proof that certain Ushabti figures were made in Gaul a figure at Autun on the back of which, and several times repeated, is a solar emblem in the form of an eight-pointed rosette or star. Such emblems on the back of figures are frequent in Gallic art and several examples of this use are cited.

A Sketch from the Cabinet of Peiresc.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 151-157 (fig.), GEORGES LAFAYE publishes and describes a sketch in the papers of Peiresc (Bibl. Nat., Ms. français 9530, folio 3). It represents very roughly the front of a sarcophagus on which three scenes from the myth of Hippolytus were carved. The representation has some resemblance to that on a sarcophagus in the Villa Albani at Rome (Robert, *Die Ant. Sarkophagreliefs* No. 159), but the two are not identical. The sketch is accompanied by notes stating that the sarcophagus had been at the church of Notre Dame de la Plaine at Hyères and was sent in 1648 to Cardinal Alphonse de Richelieu at his country house near Lyons. If still in existence it may be at Lyons.

Gallo-Roman Towns in Limousin.—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XX, 1918, pp. 181-184, J. PLANTADIS publishes with a bibliography a list of the Gallo-Roman towns of Limousin of which remains exist.

EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE AND MEDIAEVAL ART

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Mosaic Pavement of Shellal.—The interesting mosaic pavement found during military operations in 1917 in southern Palestine near Gaza (see *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, pp. 83-84.) is published by Capt. M. S. BRIGGS in *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 185-189 (pl.; fig.). The fragments that remain are sufficient to suggest the pavement's original splendor, the spirited and delicate composition, the superb technique. The principal motives are birds, animals and the vine, with an inscription that gives the date, 622, of the founding of the church. Other fragmentary remains of the church that were found are a damaged Doric capital and what is apparently part of a threshold. The mosaic has been transferred to Cairo. Its future destination is unknown. See also F. M. DRAKE, *Pal. Ex. Fund*, L, 1918, pp. 122-124 (2 pls.).

Early Representations of the Baptism of Christ.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 2-10 (5 figs.), Sir MARTIN CONWAY points out that in representations of the baptism of Christ down to the sixth century Christ was regularly depicted as a child and John the Baptist as a man of middle age. He enumerates more than thirty examples all of which can be shown to be of oriental derivation. After the sixth century Christ appears as a grown man. The earliest known representation of the Baptism is a wall-painting dating from the end of the first or beginning of the second century in the crypt of Lucina in the Catacomb of Callixtus, and here both Christ and John are young men. This is, however, unique before the sixth century.

The Miracles of the Virgin.—In *Boll. Arte*, XII, 1918, pp. 1–32 (21 figs.), E. LEVI writes on the representation of the Miracles of the Virgin in mediaeval and later art and its relationship to literature on the subject. It is found that thirteenth century literary accounts of the miracles exercise a decisive influence upon their appearance in paintings, miniatures, sculptures, and engravings. In the last-named technique the subjects are repeated almost to the present day, seeming to ignore the abyss which separates our world from the mediaeval world of myth. The most popular of the miracles in art, the Madonna of Succor (Fig. 5) is discussed at length and representations of it through several centuries are described.



FIGURE 5.—MADONNA DEL SOCCORSO: NICOLÒ DA FOLIGNO.

Alexander the Great's Celestial Journey.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 136–140 and 177–185 (3 pls.; 2 figs.), R. S. Loomis traces the widespread representations in eastern and western art of Alexander's journey to heaven, borne up by two griffins whom he guided by means of two lances baited with meat. The legend grew out of the myth of the ascent of the Persian king,

Kai Ka'us, who was borne up by four eagles. Since the literary tradition passed westward from Persia, it is natural that the earliest representations in art of Alexander's feat are Byzantine in provenance or treatment. Greece offers some examples; then the subject passed into Italy, up the Rhine, and even into England (France, strangely enough, offers no certain examples). Tapestries, stone carvings, and enamels show the popularity of the subject. Though in some few instances the Celestial Journey seems to have been understood as a type of laudable striving heavenward, in most cases there apparently was found in the episode an instance of overweening pride, and even a type of Lucifer's supreme attempt against the throne of God. (See *A.J.A.* XX, 1916, pp. 80-81).

Byzantium, the Orient, and the Occident.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 1-35 (7 figs.), LOUIS BRÉHIER contributes an appreciative review of a remarkable book by Gabriel Millet (*Recherches sur l'Iconographie de l'Évangile aux XIV^e, XV^e, et XVI^e siècles, d'après les monuments de Mistra, de la Macédoine et du Mont Athos*, Paris, Fontemoing, 1916). This work treats of the sources and development of the later Byzantine iconography and art in general. The method is strictly scientific. The influence of eastern schools of art upon the art of Constantinople and their direct and indirect influence upon the art of western Europe are carefully traced. Eastern influence upon the Romanesque art of France and the beginnings of the Renaissance in Italy is clearly proved.

Signatures of Primitives.—Roger Van der Weiden.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 50-75 (5 pls.), F. DE MÉLY first defends himself against charges of "auto-suggestion" and arbitrary choice of certain letters in inscriptions on paintings, and then identifies the signature of Van der Weiden. The artists of the Middle Ages were not obscure or ignorant. More than 20,000 of them are known by name, examples are given of the use, in artists' inscriptions of letters and words of different languages, sometimes in remarkable combinations. The signature of "WIYDEN" is read in a Hebrew, or pseudo-Hebrew inscription on the turban of the Magdalen in the triptych formerly in the collection of Theodore Guest and since 1913 in the Louvre. The same signature is found on the cuff of the High Priest in the Marriage of the Virgin of the Triptych in the Prado.

The Collection of François Flameng.—In *Les Arts*, No. 164, pp. 1-12 (14 figs.), No. 165, pp. 1-10 (13 figs.), and No. 167, pp. 16-24 (17 figs.), C. SAUNIER writes on the Flameng collection of paintings and sculptures. The attraction of the collection is enhanced by its being installed in the Flameng home, where the furnishings are in harmony with it. The sculpture includes fine examples of Virgins and other figures from the thirteenth, fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries in France; and in painting, other countries, as well, are represented. The Clouets and Corneille de Lyon of France; Rembrandt, Rubens, Van Dyck, Cranach, and Holbein of the Netherlands; Velasquez of Spain; Pisanello and an artist of the Umbrian school of Italy, are among the artists of the Renaissance whose works form part of this collection.

A Permanent Outer Roof in Gothic Churches.—In *Archaeologia*, LXVIII, 1916-17, pp. 21-34 (6 pls.; 9 figs.), D. H. S. CRANAGE, apropos of the destruction of the outer roof of Rheims cathedral by fire in 1914, considers the question whether an outer roof is necessary in Gothic churches, and if so, why it

should not be made permanent like the inner roof. He points out that in southern France there are several examples of Gothic churches with no upper roof, *e.g.*, the thirteenth century abbey church of Vignogoul, near Montpellier; but he believes that a permanent outer roof is desirable.

War Tapestries.—The rich hangings used to decorate the walls of the tents of kings or great captains in their wars are discussed by M. VAUCAIRE in *Les Arts*, No. 165, 1918, pp. 18–24 (10 figs.). Those that followed Charles the Bold in his campaigns form the basis of the study. As the character of the court of Burgundy, very rich in art, would lead one to expect, the tapestries, displayed by the duke were of great splendor. The Allegory of the Banquet, found in the tent of Charles the Bold near Nancy (1477) illustrates the elaborate designs employed.

Bibliography of Costume.—M. Camille Enlart's recent contribution to the bibliography of costume forms the point of departure for F. M. KELLEY's discussion in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 89–95 (2 pls.), of the deplorable condition of the study of costume. Enlart's work is the only one that in many years has deserved serious consideration. It has faults, particularly that of attempting to cover too much ground; but it shows conscientious and able study.

The Death and Burial of Constantine.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* XXXVI, 1916–1917, pp. 205–261, P. FRANCHI DE' CAVALIERI gives a detailed account of the death and burial of Constantine and of the attendant circumstances, based on an exhaustive study of all the extant evidence.

Mediaeval Hand Bombs.—Mediaeval hand bombs found in the pits of Fostat (ancient Cairo) and of Mesopotamia are described in *Faenza*, VI, 1918, pp. 32–33 (3 figs.). With the exception of the material of which they are made, they are just like those now used.

ITALY

Symbolic Animals of Perugia and Spoleto.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 152–160 (pl.), M. GARVER discusses the significance of animals in mediaeval church decoration, particularly as illustrated by the church of S. Costanzo, Perugia and the church of S. Pietro, Spoleto. The animals in the decorative arrangement on the former church (twelfth and thirteenth centuries) and part of those on the latter (twelfth century) originate in the symbolism which descends from the catacombs. In such instances the symbols rarely retain vital meaning for their carvers; they are no longer looked upon as much more than pure decoration. But part of the decorations on the church at Spoleto derive their inspiration from a new source, the "Bestiary." There we may find the interpretation of most of the scenes represented.

Two So-called Antique Sculptures.—A baptismal font and a font for holy water in the baptistery of Camaiole, which have attracted attention previously because of their likeness to Roman sculpture, are published by G. VINER in *Boll. Arte*, XII, 1918, pp. 44–48 (2 figs.). The baptismal font, in the shape of a sarcophagus, is decorated on one side with a seated old man in tunic and toga discoursing from an open book to three nude children. The style of the foliage decorations in the panels at the ends of this scene (and these panels are clearly contemporary with the figure subject) furnishes conclusive proof of the writer's

conjecture that the work was done in 1387, the date given in the inscription. The font for holy water, decorated with single figures, is also probably of the fourteenth century. As in the preceding example, the suggestion of the antique in the figures is to be accounted for by the lack of skill on the part of the sculptor in the carving of human figures.

An Old Representation of Theodoric.—So rare are the portraits of Theodoric that two representations published by G. GEROLA in *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 146–151 (pl.), have especial interest. The trecento example, a fresco in the north apsidal chapel of the suburban church of S. Maria in Porto Fuori, Ravenna, by a follower of Giotto has for its subject the interview between Pope John I and Theodoric. This fresco is little known. But entirely unknown is the sculptured relief on the back of a shrine in the street that leads from Galeata to the old church of S. Ellero, which represents in two slabs Theodoric and his horse prostrating themselves before S. Hilarus. The types of the rude figures and the form of the letters of the inscription, containing an epitome of the legend, on the back of the slabs point to the eleventh century as the date of the work.

The Church of S. Susanna.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* XXXVI, 1916–1917, pp. 27–56, DUCHESNE discusses the legends attached to the existing church of S. Susanna in the Via Venti Settembre, Rome, and that of S. Ciriaco, of which the ruins lie beneath the Ministero delle Finanze. He examines the *Passio Susannae* and the *Passio Marcelli* in relation to these churches, and shows that the *titulus Gai* of the fourth and fifth centuries became S. Susanna after 499; also that the founder of the church of S. Ciriaco is to be distinguished from the martyr who was buried at the seventh milestone of the Via Ostiensis (cf. Fornari, 'Le recenti esplorazioni nel cimitero di S. Ciriaco al vii. miglio della via Ostiense,' *ibid.* pp. 57–72).

The Church of S. Macuto.—In *Mél. Arch. Hist.* XXXVI, 1916–1917, pp. 85–108 B. POCQUET DU HAUT-JUSSÉ outlines the history of the church of the Breton saint, S. Macuto, near the Piazza di S. Ignazio, Rome, from its foundation in the twelfth century to the present time.

SPAIN

Hispano-Moresque, Ceramic.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXV, 1917, pp. 153–168 (8 pls.) and pp. 265–275 (8 pls.), P. M. DE ARTIÑANO writes on the origins and the development of Hispano-Moresque ceramic. As early as the tenth century two distinct schools are discernible: one decorates with painting, principally in blue with touches of gilt, producing pieces of intrinsic beauty; the other produces tiling, not artistic in itself, but only in its relationship to the architecture which it was destined to decorate. These two schools existed separately down to the end of the fifteenth or the beginning of the sixteenth century, when they were united. In the sixteenth century the Pisan Francisco Niculoso introduced new methods of procedure in the production of designs. Instead of the mosaic method formerly used, the Spanish ceramic worker was taught to paint directly on a yellow or white ground, without first having done more than trace the contours with a fine line. All the qualities of an artist were required for the new manner of decoration.

The Institut d'Estudis Catalans.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 20–24, R. SCHWABE calls attention to the important results being obtained by the scientific research of the Institut d'Estudis Catalans by the formation and arrangement of national archives, by a series of sumptuous detached publications, and by the issue of an "Anuari." Some of the "Institut" publications dealing with phases of the wealth of art in the Catalan inheritance are here reviewed.

"Rollos y Picotas."—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXV, 1917, pp. 238–266 (6 pls.), the CONDE DE CEDILLO offers a study of two classes of monuments of jurisdiction still standing in the province of Toledo known as "rollos" and "picotas." The analysis of these columns and pillars is taken up both from a historical and from a descriptive standpoint. Though the terms by which the monuments are designated have come to be used interchangeably, they are really quite distinct in their original significance, and the class called "picotas" is the more ancient, having been used as early as the thirteenth century. The evolution of the "rollos" comprehends four stages, the Gothic, the transition, the Renaissance, and the decadence.

The Monastery of Monsalud de Córcoles.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVI, 1918, pp. 7–17 (4 pls.), L. TORRES CAMPOS Y BALBÁS publishes a history and description of the little-known monastery of Monsalud de Córcoles (Guadalajara). The building was begun in the second half of the twelfth century, about 1167, and was finished by the end of the century. The original plan was Romanesque, but before the work had gone far the plan was altered by the Gothic style which was then being introduced into Spain.

FRANCE

"Le Roi de Bourges."—In *Art in America*, VI, 1918, pp. 264–273 (5 figs.), A. K. PORTER gives a short sketch of the development of glass painting and discusses the stained glass panel in the collection of Mr. Henry C. Lawrence, New York, which is traditionally called "Le Roi de Bourges." Though two important means of identification, the original border and iron bars, are lacking, the colors of the glass, the richness of the purely conventional decorations, the type of figure, and treatment of drapery distinguish the work as a product of the school of Saint-Denis. The closest analogy to it as regards drawing is to be found in the Virgin of Vendôme. The two works must be the product if not of the same painter, at least of the same atelier. The King of Bourges is evidently from a Tree of Jesse closely related to those of Saint-Denis and Chartres, but Poitiers seems a more likely provenance for it than Bourges. A pendant to this piece is the panel recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum (*ibid.* VII, 1918, pp. 39–43; pl.). It is an excellent representative of the other great school in France in the second half of the twelfth century, the school of Champagne. It is fairly well preserved and apparently comes from a clearstory window. The subject is Abiud, an ancestor of Christ. As in the glass of St. Remi of Rheims, to which the panel bears closest resemblance, the figure is without a niche, but is seated on a throne. The treatment of the drapery and the fiery color are also similar in the two cases.

Some Groups of French Gothic Ivories.—A class of ivory diptychs of the fourteenth century distinguished by simple rectangular fields separated by

bands of roses is discussed by R. KOECHLIN in *Gaz. B.-A.* XIV, 1918, pp. 225-246 (pl.; 10 figs.). This class falls into two groups, entirely opposed to each other in subject-matter. The first, represented by such examples as the diptych with scenes from the life of Christ, part in the Ashmolean Museum, part in the Morgan collection, and another representation of the same subject in the Library of Amiens, revels in picturesque genre scenes, which are treated naturalistically. Such scenes as the Crucifixion are relegated to unimportant places and are done badly, or bits of genre are introduced into them. The second group prefers tragic dramatic subjects. Scenes from the Passion from the Cottreau collection, the fragment with the Crucifixion in the collection of Martin LeRoy and the Book of the Passion in the Escorial Museum are instinct with deep grief and tragic emotion. This second group is sufficiently homogeneous to have come from a single atelier. The two groups bear some marks of similarity aside from their decoration of roses; types of figures, arrangement and details of scenes indicate that the whole class of rose diptychs has a common parentage. Former ascriptions of the class to English derivation are not borne out by study. The carvers of these ivories were undoubtedly French.

BELGIUM

A Bronze by Godefroid de Claire.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 59-65 (2 pls.), H. P. MITCHELL publishes a small bronze personification of the Sea in the Victoria and Albert Museum. The figure with its plinth is shown to have been made to serve as a foot to some object, no doubt to a pedestal such as the well-known one of an altar-cross in the Museum of St. Omer. Comparison with the supporting figures of this pedestal proves that the personification of the Sea is even by the same master as the figures of the pedestal, *i.e.*, by Godefroid de Claire, the Walloon goldsmith of Huy on the Meuse. It is to be dated about 1160.

GERMANY

The Reichenau Crosier.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 65-73 (2 pls.) H. P. MITCHELL writes on an important example of translucent enamelling, the Reichenau crosier in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It has formerly been considered to have originated in Basel. Apparently this was due to a misreading of the inscription. From this inscription it appears that the crosier was made by order of the Benedictine abbey of Reichenau in 1351. The precise locality of its production is not known, but it is probable that it was made by a goldsmith of Augsburg, or another of the famous centres of South German craftsmanship, lodged in the monastery for supervision.

SWEDEN

A Swedish Embroidery of the Twelfth Century.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 129-131 (pl.), P. NORMAN publishes a piece of Swedish embroidery from the church of Skog, Helsingland, and now in the Historical State Museum, Stockholm. The design, which is very primitive, represents a church with a priest at the altar celebrating mass, while members of the congregation stand

about. In front of the church are several monstrous animals which the writer thinks may be intended for dogs. The borders have geometrical designs. This piece of embroidery probably dates from the beginning of the twelfth century.

Swedish and English Fonts.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 85-94 (2 pls.; 17 figs.), J. ROOSVAL discusses the various types of Swedish baptismal fonts of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and the influence of English design upon them. Large numbers of these fonts are extant, owing to the durability of their material and shape. The district of Västergötland is particularly rich in examples. Here cylindrical-shaped fonts at first predominated. Frequently they were undecorated, but where ornamentation does occur, it points manifestly to English art of the Norman period. At the end of the twelfth century the cylinder form was superseded by the chalice shape and the quadrilateral type. These were more elaborately decorated, often with figure subjects. They, too, show plainly their English inspiration. Contemporaneously with the development of these types in western Sweden, there flourished a very rich form of stone sculpture in the east, particularly on the island of Götland. The whole circumference of the fonts was carved in relief, and work was done for exportation to other Swedish provinces, to Denmark, and North Germany. With the remarkably high culture of the island there combined to make possible this advanced development certain foreign elements—oriental and Italian. But about 1230 the abundance of figures in the fonts of Götland began to give place to sprays of vegetation and protruding folds or scallops, in which English origin again appears.

GREAT BRITAIN

Roman Roads and Saxon Churches in London.—In *Archaeologia*, LXVIII, 1916-17, pp. 228-262 (10 figs.), R. A. SMITH shows that the Saxons built their churches in London mostly along the line of existing Roman roads. This he does by examining the sites of twenty-six Saxon churches together with the evidence for the position of Roman roads afforded by gates, fords, burials, etc. The churches thus become an additional means of locating these roads which were used long after the withdrawal of the Romans from Britain.

The Sarum Consuetudinary and the Church at Old Sarum.—In *Archaeologia*, LXVIII, 1916-17, pp. 111-126 (3 pls.; 2 figs.), Sir W. ST. JOHN HOPE shows by a comparison of their plans that the Sarum Consuetudinary does not refer to the cathedral church at Salisbury, but to its predecessor the church of St. Osmund as enlarged by Bishop Roger at Old Sarum.

The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Wheatley.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 48-63 (6 figs.), E. T. LEEDS publishes details in regard to the Anglo-Saxon cemetery excavated at Wheatley, Oxfordshire, in 1883. It was the burial place of a community which was not rich, and which consisted of people of Romano-British stock as well as Saxons. Spearheads, vases, brooches, and various other objects were taken from the graves.

A Late Romanesque Processional Cross.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 94-98 (2 figs.), W. L. HILDBURGH publishes a romaneseque processional cross which dates from about the year 1200. It is Italian, of copper, and was

originally gilded. It bears on one side the inscription MASTRO PETRO CANPANAIO; and on the other BONAGIUNTA ALBARELLI. F.

Choir Screens in English Churches.—In *Archaeologia*, LXVIII, 1916–17, pp. 43–110 (11 pls.; 22 figs.), Sir W. St. JOHN HOPE discusses choir screens in English churches with special reference to the twelfth century screen formerly in the cathedral church at Ely.

A Wooden Statuette of Christ.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 98–100 (fig.), W. L. HILDBURGH publishes a wooden figure of Christ of Spanish workmanship now in England, dating probably from the fourteenth century. The arms were made separately and attached; the feet are now missing. Over the wood was a thin coating of plaster upon which the colors were applied. The figure was formerly about eighteen inches high.

A Late Romanesque Gold Ornament.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 13–16 (fig.), Sir MARTIN CONWAY publishes a late romaneseque gold ornament in the Victoria and Albert Museum. It is circular, 4.4 in. in its greatest diameter and 2.2 in. high. Gems were originally set about the outer edge alternating with lions' heads and bosses with a radiating curved design. The remaining decoration is arranged in zones. In the centre is a figure of St. Eloi before an anvil. It was a breast ornament and probably dates from the first years of the thirteenth century.

A Cologne Enamel of St. Reynofle.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 124–127 (2 figs.), Sir HERCULES READ calls attention to a small panel of copper decorated with the figure of St. Reynofle in enamel and gilt. The colors are blue, white, green, and yellow. It dates from about the year 1260. On the back is another panel, dating from about 1140, which was never finished. The artist had begun his outline with the sharp point and partly hollowed out the cavities into which the enamel was to be fused, but for some reason the work was abandoned.

Master Walter of Durham.—In his eighth contribution on English Primitives in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 3–8 (pl.; 3 figs.), W. R. LETHABY writes on the work of the King's painter, Master Walter of Durham (ca. 1230–1305). This involves a historical discussion of the painted chamber in the Royal Palace at Westminster and of Queen Alianor's Tomb. After the fire of 1262 the new decoration of the chamber, a restoration of which is here reproduced, was in charge of Master Walter. The scenes on the walls are described as representing The Wars of the Bible. Just preceding his work in the Palace chamber Master Walter had executed a painting on the base of the tomb of Queen Alianor; only a faded stain remains as witness to that work. From a copy in the Burges collection at South Kensington made about fifty years ago the figures may be distinguished; the principal one, a knight, must have represented Sir Otho de Grandison. Other tombs decorated by Master Walter were those of Edmund Crouchback, son of Henry III and of his wife Aveline (*ibid.* pp. 169–172; 3 figs.). Edmund's tomb is attributed to about 1300 and that of his wife to a slightly earlier date. The whole of the elaborate stonework of both tombs was covered with painting and gilding on raised gesso-work. The Coronation Chair, another work by this master, was also decorated with painting and gilding. On the back was painted a king, and since the chair is traditionally called the Chair of St. Edward, it seems likely that the figure was that of the Confessor.

RENAISSANCE ART

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Ancient Subjects in Tapestry.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VII, 1918, pp. 131-150, L. ROBLOT-DELONDRE continues (see *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, pp. 226 f.) his list of ancient subjects represented in tapestries. The subjects included in this instalment are mythology (gods and goddesses; heroes and heroines; legendary cycles; Triumphs and Honors; allegories; various subjects located in mythological fashion; metamorphoses), Greek and oriental history, Roman history, and Jewish history.

ITALY

Italian Sculptures in the Shaw Collection.—In *Art in America*, VI, 1918, pp. 229-239 (6 figs.) and 253-263 (5 figs.), A. MARQUAND discusses the sculptures of the schools of Donatello and della Robbia in the Shaw collection in the Boston Museum. To Donatello himself may be attributed the general sketch and the modelling of the Madonna's face in the relief of the Madonna of the Clouds, which is to be dated between 1427 and 1440. The Madonna della Scodella, signed by one of Donatello's best known pupils, Bartolommeo Bellano, and dated 1461, is the artist's earliest dated work. The same artist is probably responsible for the Madonna and Two Angels, modeled about thirty years later. And the relief of the Madonna and Child with a Book is by a contemporary of Bellano, done in a period between these two. The della Robbia school, also, is represented in the Shaw collection by an example from the hand of the master himself; the Madonna of the Niche is undoubtedly the work of Luca della Robbia. It appears to have been cast from the same mould as the Madonna of the Niche in the collection of Mrs. G. T. Bliss of New York. To the atelier of Luca are assigned the Nativity and the Madonna of the Lilies; and from the atelier of Andrea della Robbia comes the less serious Madonna of the Dove. The bust of the youthful St. John the Baptist, long attributed to Antonio Rossellino, is more probably by a member of the Robbia school strongly influenced by Rossellino. In the third contribution to this series of studies on the Shaw collection (*ibid.* VII, 1918, pp. 3-10; pl.; 2 figs.) three works by Florentine marble sculptors of the fifteenth century are discussed. The first, the Madonna with an Angel Supporting the Child, has been attributed to various masters, among them to Verrocchio; but the attribution to Francesco di Simone while he was inspired by such artists as Desiderio da Settignano and Filippo Lippi, and before he came into Verrocchio's workshop, seems most plausible. The Angel with a Palm is a survival of Gothic traditions and comes from the school of Bernardo Rossellino, or of his follower, Matteo Civitali. By analogy with Orcagna's Tabernacle in Or San Michele, it appears to have formed a part of an angel frame for a relief or painting of some scene from the life of the Virgin. The Relief Bust of an Emperor (Julius Caesar?) is accepted by the best authorities as the work of Mino da Fiesole.

Sculptures in S. Maria Maggiore at Rome.—Examples of several epochs of art preserved in S. Maria Maggiore are described by G. BIASOTTI in *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 42-57 (18 figs.). Cosmatesque art is well represented

by a lunette, a fragment of a ciborium, decorated with mosaic and sculptures (Fig. 6), and an altar-frontal richly ornamented with engraving and mosaic. Comparison with similar dated examples places the lunette at about 1300, the frontal in 1230-1240. A Crucifixion sculptured in wood and colored, as a dignified work of the fifteenth century, deserves more attention than it has received hitherto. The tomb figure of Cardinal Lando belongs to the first



FIGURE 6.—LUNETTE IN S. MARIA
MAGGIORE, ROME.

half of the fifteenth century, but compared with contemporary monuments it appears more archaic, reminiscent of the Gothic. Its author is not known, though some see in it the style of Paolo Romano. The problem of the connection of Mino da Fiesole with the ciborium erected under the patronage of Cardinal Estouteville (see J. Alazard: 'Mino da Fiesole at Rome,' *Gaz. B.-A.* XIV, 1918, pp. 83 ff.) is elucidated by documentary and *prima facie* proof that the bas-relief signed "OPUS MINI" did not be-

long to the original ciborium. The Madonna in the Stroganoff collection (Fig. 7) occupied its place. Finally, the marble altar decorated with figures in high relief of the Madonna and two saints and the bust of Christ, which was dedicated in 1498 by Guglielmo de Perriers, is undoubtedly from the design of Andrea Bregno.

Frescoes in the Casa Borromeo.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 8-14 (2 pls.), L. CUST discusses the frescoes in one of the small rooms of the Casa Borromeo at Milan, where pastimes and amusements of the fifteenth century nobility are represented. The character of the work shows that at least its design can be ascribed to Pisanello. The fact that this artist was patronized at the time of the execution of the frescoes—the middle of the fifteenth century—by Filippo Visconti, Duke of Milan, makes this attribution the more plausible.

Milanese Bobbin Lace.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, p. 112 (2 pls.), P. G. TRENDLELL discusses two fine examples of bobbin lace of Milanese workmanship, recently given by Mr. Louis Clarke to the Victoria and Albert Museum. They depart from the usual type of bobbin lace in that they have representations of hunting scenes instead of simple decorative motives of repeating floral character. Yet their general decorative effect is not marred by too much naturalism in the figures of huntsmen and animals interspersed among the foliage patterns. The larger and more elaborate example dates from the first half of the seventeenth century, the other belongs to the latter part of the same century.

Two Florentine Cassoni.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 169-170 and 218-226 (5 pls.; fig.), G. DE NICOLA describes two cassoni in the Museo Nazion-

ale, which illustrate the importance of subject-matter in this form of art. The first of these presents in its decoration the oldest illustration of the *Decameron*. The particular theme is composed of three episodes from the story of Saladin. The style of the painting of this cassone and its provenance from the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, together with the coat of arms on a cassone in the Castello di Vincigliata near Florence, a cassone that is to be referred to the same school as the one here described, lead to the attribution of the work to a secondary Florentine painter working about the end of the fourteenth century and the beginning of the fifteenth within the group headed by Lorenzo



FIGURE 7.—MADONNA: STROGANOFF COLLECTION, ROME.

di Niccolò and Niccolò di Pietro Gerini. The second cassone may be dated by the arms on it and by chronicles relating to the families concerned, in 1416 or 1417. It, too, came from the Hospital of Santa Maria Nuova, and is even more Florentine than the first. Its subject is the Feast of St. John as then celebrated at Florence. Not only are the details of this celebration more vividly given than in any written account, but it supplies us, better than any other graphic document, with the details of the appearance of the Piazza del Duomo in the first half of the Quattrocento.

Giannicola di Paolo.—New documents concerned with the career of Giannicola di Paolo (wrongly surnamed Manni) disciple of Perugino, are published by U. GNOLI in *Boll. Arte*, XII, 1918, pp. 33-43 (3 figs.). Aside from details of the artist's private life these documents furnish important data on his

artistic activity, confirming or changing old attributions, providing extant work with documents and recording works lost or dispersed. The Crucifixion in the Picture Gallery, Perugia, which has been attributed to Perugino, is recorded in 1501 as a product of the art of Giannicola. The attribution to him of the Ognissanti now in the same gallery is confirmed and the painting dated in 1506-1507. The Madonna of the Bower, also in the Perugia gallery which was painted by Giovanni Boccati da Camerino, is shown to have been



FIGURE 8.—DETAIL FROM THE MADONNA OF THE BOWER: PERUGIA.

restored by Giannicola; this accounts for the loss in some of the figures (Fig. 8) of every trace of the style of the original painter. These are only a few of the interesting facts revealed by the new documents.

The Mother of Piero della Francesca.—In *Boll. Arte*, XII, 1918, pp. 61-63 the Editor publishes, with brief approving comment, a letter from G. Mancini discussing the article of A. Del Vita, *ibid.* X, 1916, pp. 272-275 (see *A.J.A.* XXI 1917, p. 232), on the family of Piero della Francesca, and presenting new data, which prove that Piero della Francesca and his brothers Marco and Antonio were not the sons of a woman called Francesca, but that all three were almost certainly the sons of the legitimate consort of their father, Romana di Pierino da Monterchi.

Raphael's Letter to Leo X.—A letter concerning the plan of Rome, which has been included in several editions of the writings of Baldassare Castiglione, was in 1799 shown by Daniele Francesconi, on the ground of biographical and other references, to belong to Raphael, rather than to Castiglione. Now A. VENTURI in *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 57-65, furnishes data to prove that while the letter was an expression of Raphael's ideas, it was written for him by Castiglione. Comparison with the *Cortegiano* shows that the style and

characteristic phrases are Baldassare's own. A proof which renders this conclusion certain is given by Vittorio Cian, who has found in the library of the Castiglione family at Mantua ten autograph sheets of corrections of the letter to Leo X in the hand of Castiglione.

Influence upon Raphael in Umbria.—In *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 93-108 (20 figs.), A. VENTURI describes the artistic atmosphere of Umbria at the time of Raphael's arrival there in 1500. Perugino's limited ideas were exhausted. The Madonna dei Battuti in the Civic Gallery of Perugia, the Assumption in the Florence Academy, the Nativity in the Exchange of Perugia, and the Transfiguration in the same place illustrate the decadence of his art. Symmetry is its only law; there is no interest in spatial arrangement nor in pertinency of figures and expression. Superficial, monotonous productions are the result. Those who followed in Perugino's train only repeated, with even less meaning, his types. Andrea d'Assisi is no more than a parody on his master, as one sees in his Adoration of the Magi in the Pitti. Fiorenzo di Lorenzo, striving to give his figures a Peruginesque polish and grace, only succeeds in making them grotesque; the polyptych of S. Maria Nuova in the Civic Gallery of Perugia is an example. The essence of the art of Pinturicchio is fantastic decoration based on effects of color. All this was foreign to Raphael. It was not Perugino and his circle that influenced the young artist in Perugia; rather it was the traces he found there of the early work of Signorelli and of Piero della Francesca. Such paintings as Signorelli's Ancona in the cathedral of Perugia, his Circumcision in the National Gallery, his Tondo in the Uffizi and Piero's Ancona in the Civic Gallery of Perugia indicate the sources from which Raphael drew inspiration for his study of architectural and human forms and of space and composition.

The Early Artistic Education of Raphael.—A small panel of the Assumption of the Virgin in the Boston Museum forms a basis for A. COLASANTI'S study of the early influence upon Raphael (*Art in America*, VI, 1918, pp. 215-228 (4 figs.)). The painting is attributed to Timoteo Viti, but the present writer sees in it such striking resemblance to the youthful works of Raphael as to suggest its attribution to that master when he was strongly influenced by Timoteo Viti. A Venturi's claim that Evangelista da Piandimeleto was an instructor of Raphael is improbable because of his lack of importance as an artist, which is revealed by documents, and by the mediocrity of the paintings which can reasonably be assigned to him. Among these are the Virgin and Child Enthroned between Saints in the Town Hall, Sassocorvaro, and the Crucifixion in the church of Piandimeleto.

The "Ignudi" of the Sistine Ceiling.—In *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 109-126 (25 figs.), A. FORATTI offers a study of the general significance of the "Ignudi" of the Sistine ceiling and a detailed analysis of the individual figures. Incidentally, the relationship of some of the forms to classical sculpture is pointed out. One of the youths over Isaiah is clearly inspired by the Laocoon. The Belvedere torso and the Drunken Satyr are compared with other figures.

Ceramic Art of the Abruzzi.—In *Faenza*, VI, 1918, pp. 29-31, (2 pls.), G. B. MANIERI calls attention to Luca della Robbia's influence upon the ceramic art of the Abruzzi. All the artists of Castelli came to Aquila to admire Luca's work in the church of S. Bernardino, the Resurrection altarpiece. This could not be without influence upon their pottery.

Virgiliotto da Faenza.—Documents throwing light upon Virgilio or Virgiliotto of Faenza, a master celebrated in the history of ceramics for his invention of a fine red coloring, are published by G. BALLARDINI in *Faenza*, VI, 1918 (2 pls.). The confused problems concerning his surname are solved; it proves to be Calamelli. He flourished in the middle of the sixteenth century, and was dead by 1570. Examples by the master and by pupils indicate a bold and agile hand, a light, firm touch, and an indifference to form.

Amico Aspertini.—In *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 84–86, L. FRATI publishes documents concerning the private life of Amico Aspertini. These show the vacillating characteristics already noticed in his painting to have distinguished the actions of his private life as well. *Ibid.* pp. 87–88, C. RICCI makes some additions and corrections to his earlier article on Amico Aspertini (*ibid.* XVIII, 1915, pp. 81–119; see *A.J.A.* XIX, 1915, p. 497).

Lodovico il Moro's Iron Casket.—In *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 75–77 (2 figs.), L. BELTRAMI writes on the history of an iron casket in the Sforza castle. The emblems on the cover of this coffer, the monograms of Lodovico and Beatrice, the lion with crest, and the caduceus, agree with Lodovico's description of the iron casket, silver plated "alla damaschina," in which he deposited the manuscript of his political will.

The Papal Tombs.—In *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 78–104 (37 figs.), A. MUÑOZ writes on the tombs of the popes as his fifth contribution on baroque sculpture in Rome. The type of monumental papal sepulchre that predominated in the baroque period was architectonic. In an architectural setting were placed sculptured figures of the dead, allegorical figures of the Virtues, and scenes in high relief, a form inspired by Roman triumphal arches. Good examples of it are the mausoleums of Leo X, Clement VII, and Julius II. A secondary style was that established by the sepulchre of Pope Barberini. It is no longer architectonic, but pictorial. The columns, pilasters, cornices, etc., are suppressed, and the figures assume the rôle of importance. Even color is obtained through the use of bronze, gold, and colored stone. The tombs of Clement X, Innocent XI, and Alexander VIII are among those that follow the new style.

Priamo della Quercia.—In the first of a series of studies of Siennese art in *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 69–74 (4 figs.), G. DE NICOLA establishes the study of Priamo della Quercia on a new basis. Students have been misled by a document which refers to a painting by Priamo in 1442 for the Oratorio di San Michele in Volterra. The Madonna and angels, No. 22 in the Volterra gallery, has been supposed to be this painting, but it is not even by a Siennese artist. It is by someone influenced by Masolino and Fra Angelico, perhaps Andrea di Giusto. Starting from a documented work by Priamo, the fresco in the Ospedale della Scala, Siena, which represents the blessed Agostino Novello investing the governor, the true character of the artist's work may be followed. He is a close disciple of Domenico di Bartolo, interested in naturalistic details contrary to Siennese tradition. An altarpiece in the Oratorio of S. Antonio, Volterra, containing S. Antonio and other saints, and a lunette with the Madonna and two saints, No. 16 in the Volterra gallery, are also by Priamo della Quercia.

The Masterpiece of Giovanni di Paolo.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 45–54 (3 pls.), a restoration is attempted by G. DE NICOLA of the arrangement

of the series of panels with scenes from the life of St. John the Baptist by Giovanni di Paolo, which has lately become the property of Mr. Martin A. Ryerson of Chicago. The suggested restoration places these six panels in the lower zone of an altar-ancona, the upper zone being composed of three panels from the Principe Santangelo collection of Naples (now in Mr. Philip Lehman's collection in New York and the Provinzialmuseum in Münster) and two that are lost. The upper central panel, larger than the rest, would have held the full or half-length figure of the Baptist, while all the rest presented scenes from his life. Comparison with other known works by the artist places the date of this series at about 1445-7. The habit of Giovanni di Paolo of borrowing from other artists is not deviated from here. The polyptych is in great part derived from the reliefs of the font in the Duomo, Siena, so much so that the purpose of the work may have been the rendition of a version of this great Tuscan sculptural decoration.

The Uffizi Medusa.—In *Emporium*, XLVII, 1918, pp. 300-304 (3 figs.), G. CAVANNA makes a minute study of the animals about the Medusa head in the Uffizi, which was ascribed to Leonardo until shown by Corrado Ricci to be of Flemish origin. These animals, so naturalistically represented, are not the principal subject of the painting, but only contribute toward its atmosphere.

The Collection of M.-F. Gentile di Giuseppe.—In *Les Arts*, No. 162, 1917, pp. 5-19 (21 figs.), C. OULMONT reviews the important Giuseppe collection, which contains, aside from more modern French and Flemish works, rare examples of Italian painting from the fourteenth century on. The oldest painting is a fragment by Giotto from the frescoes at Padua. It portrays an angel spectator of the Crucifixion. The Dead Christ with an angel of the Sienese school of the fourteenth century, the Persecuted Christ by Giovanni da Ponte, a Madonna by Gentile da Fabriano, the Visitation by Moretto da Brescia, and the Holy Family with a Basket of Fruit by Il Greco are a few of the pieces in the rich collection.

Pietro Torrigiano.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVI, 1918, pp. 100-103 (3 pls.) E. TORMO publishes reproductions of known and unknown works by Pietro Torrigiano. Those already known are the sepulchral busts of Henry VII and Isabella of York at Westminster and the St. Jerome in the Museum of Seville. The new attributions are the terracotta busts of Philip the Handsome and Doña Juana the Mad in the Dreyfus collection, Paris.

SPAIN

The Germ of the Renaissance in Spanish Monuments.—Renaissance forms in Spanish architecture of the fifteenth century are studied by E. TORMO in *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVI, 1918, pp. 116-130 (pl.; 13 figs.), with the conclusion that while some of these found their origin in Italy, others were created in Spain.

A Painter to the Catholic Queen.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXV, 1917, pp. 276-281 (5 pls.), J. M. VILLA presents documents that establish new dates relating to the activity of Jan of Flanders, who worked in Spain from 1498 to about 1519. The list of works already attributed to the artist is also supplemented. Among those here published are panels from the retablo of Isabella the Catholic.

Works by Pablo Legot and Alonso Cano.—The retablo in the church of S.

Maria de Oliva in Lebrija (Seville) is discussed by E. TORMO in *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVI, 1918, pp. 44-53 (2 pls.). According to documents the work was done between the years 1628 and 1638. The paintings are by Pablo Legot and the sculptures are by Alonso Cano. In his work here Legot is clearly a follower of Francisco Varela. Part of the painting is poorly done, but certain types in it prove by comparison with the finer canvas of the Immaculate Conception in the University of Seville, attributed to Zurbaran (?), that Legot was capable of superior work; for the Immaculate Conception is undoubtedly by Legot. The sculptures by Cano are excellent in expression and workmanship. The Madonna shows similarity to the Madonna in the Museum of Seville by Martínez Montañés, of whom Cano was a worthy disciple.

Portrait of Beato Juan de Ribera.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVI, 1918, pp. 37-43 (pl.), F. RODRIGUEZ DEL REAL publishes a study of the portrait of Juan de Ribera by Francesco Ribalta (1555(?)-1628) in the Royal Academy of San Fernando. Besides a description of the portrait, an account of the subject's life is given.

Portrait of Doña Leonor de Mascareñas.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVI, 1918, pp. 104-115 (pl.), F. J. SÁNCHEZ CANTÓN gives data concerning the life of Doña Leonor, the governess of Philip II and Don Carlos, whose portrait appeared in the "Exhibition of portraits of Spanish women." The portrait is attributed to Alonso Sánchez Coello, but the present writer cites documents concerning the relations of Doña Leonor with the painter Fray Juan de la Miseria which indicate that he was the author of the work. Since no certain works by this artist are known, a final conclusion cannot be drawn.

FRANCE

Two "Little Masters" of Limoges Enamelling.—Examples of work by two exceptionally fine artists who worked in grisaille enamelling at Limoges during the middle third of the sixteenth century are brought together by H. P. MITCHELL, in *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 190-201 (3 pls.). The name of the first master is unknown and he uses no signature at all. For convenience in reference it is suggested that he be called, from his most characteristic piece, the artist of the Mars and Venus plaque of the Salting collection. While this artist's work is characterized by a fresh, rapid, decisive touch and animation of subject, the second master, who signs himself M. P. and P. M. works with a minute, laborious finish and takes more ambitious subjects, after works by the great masters of painting. All attempts at giving him a name have failed, but from his method it may be presumed that he belonged to the atelier of Jean II Pénicaud, for part of his career, at least.

Painted Limoges Enamels.—Mr. Enrico Caruso's collection of painted Limoges enamels is described by S. RUBINSTEIN in *Art in America*, VII, 1918, pp. 21-31 (9 figs.). The early school, fifteenth century is represented, by examples in the style of Monvaerni and Nardon Pénicaud. From the sixteenth century are productions by Pierre Raymond, Jean III Pénicaud, Couly Noylier and the Master M. D. Religious plaques in color by the first of these artists are of special importance.

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

A Picture by Patinir.—An "Imaginary Landscape" attributed to Patinir, which was acquired by the Metropolitan Museum in 1916, offers opportunity, by its unfinished state, for a study of the method of painting followed at the time of its production, presumably at the end of Patinir's activity. Only the lower half of the picture is finished; the upper part is only outlined, so that the coloring must have been applied directly to the white ground instead of to a black and white shaded ground in the manner of Van Eyck. Beginning in the foreground, each part of the picture was painted separately. (E. CLARK, *Art in America*, VII, 1918, pp. 43-48; pl.)

Two Altar Wings by Memling.—In *Art in America*, VI, 1918, pp. 251-252 (pl.), F. J. MATHER, Jr., contributes to the discussion of the wings of an altarpiece in the collection of Mr. J. P. Morgan, which are generally ascribed to Hans Memling. The saints represented are apparently the hermit knight St. William of Malouel and St. Ann. The donors have not been recognized. The character of these panels as well as that of the copy in Vicenza of the missing central panel shows quite clearly that the altarpiece belongs to the early career of Memling, when he was dominated by the immediate influence of Rogier de la Pasture. It may even be the earliest Memling extant.

Medals by Steven H.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 54-59 (pl.), G. H. HILL publishes some medals by Steven H. recently acquired by the British Museum. He also gives a chronological list of the works so far known by this medallist, whose name is not known and whose nationality even is uncertain. Steven H. has been considered a native of Holland. But his work seems to point to training in Flanders or Brabant.

A Madonna by Lambert Lombard.—A painting by Lambert Lombard, unique, because signed and dated, is published by F. H. RUSK in *Art in America*, VI, 1918, pp. 277-285 (5 figs.). The subject of the painting, which is in the Brown University collection, is the Madonna enthroned, with a landscape at each side. Through its position as the only known authentic work by Lombard this canvas puts the study of the artist on a new and firmer basis. With it as a touchstone some of the former ascriptions to Lombard are shown to be false, while at the same time the field is opened for new attributions. Two Madonnas attributed to Mabuse, one in the Glasgow gallery, the other in the Prado Museum, are suggested as possible additions to Lombard's list of works. (See *A. J. A.* XXII, 1918, pp. 69-70).

A Dutch Sketch-book of 1650.—A rare sketch-book, containing 179 leaves covered with Dutch sketches of landscapes and scenes from every-day life, is published by C. DODGSON in *Burl. Mag.* XXXII, 1918, pp. 234-240 (2 pls.). It is the property of Mr. T. Mark Hovell, London. On the first page is the date, "Den 7 Juni 1650"; but there is no artist's signature in the book. The subject-matter as well as the technique and spirit of the sketches make plausible the attribution of the work to Van Goyen.

Early Dutch Maiolica.—Recent discoveries of Dutch pottery contribute toward the determination of the relation of this pottery to that of England and of Italy. But that the solution of the problem is as yet by no means complete is shown by B. RACKHAM in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 116-123 (2 pls.). Designs and technique were frequently the same in Dutch and English ware,

but which was the inventor is not clear. The original style of decoration, with freedom of design and attractive coloring, gave way in Holland in the middle of the seventeenth century to the creation of what is known as Delft evolved under Chinese influence. In England the early polychrome style lasted until the early eighteenth century. Sixteenth century Dutch wares also show a clear resemblance to fifteenth century Italian maiolica.

GERMANY

Dürer Portraits.—Notes on Dürer's portraits of his father and of Jan Provost are published by M. CONWAY in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 142-147 (2 pls.). Of the likenesses of his father there are three that can reasonably be assigned to the son, the painting in the Uffizi dated 1490, the painting in the National Gallery dated 1497, and the drawing in the Albertina, which by comparison with these and the 1483 portrait by Zeitblom may be dated about 1490. Probably it was used as a study for the Uffizi painting. Dürer records in his diary two drawings of Jan Provost. Comparison with what is apparently a "self-portrait" in Provost's Death and the Miser in Bruges leads to the conclusion that one of Dürer's drawings in the British Museum, which was formerly identified as Hofhaimer, may really be a portrait of Jan Provost.

The Enigma of Conrad Witz.—In *Gaz. B.-A.* XIV, 1918, pp. 305-326 (13 figs.), C. DE MANDACH publishes documents which contribute toward clearing up the mystery connected with Conrad Witz and Jean Sapiientis. It develops that Jean Sapiientis, employed by the authorities of the city of Geneva and by the duke of Savoy, bore the same family name as Conrad Witz and came, as he did, from a country of German tongue. It is permissible to believe that the two artists were closely related and hence would have shown similarity in their manners of painting. Looking among the remains of fifteenth century art in Geneva that are of the variety assigned in documents to Jean Sapiientis, there are found a number that are very similar to the known paintings by Conrad Witz. Among these are miniatures of a manuscript of 1451 in the archives of Geneva, the miniatures of a missal in the public library of Geneva, and windows from the Cathedral of Geneva now in the museum of that city. Three groups of artists bore the name Sapiientis: one in Switzerland, one in Franche-Comté, and a third in Northern France. At present only the first has obtained a place in the history of art.

GREAT BRITAIN

The Chapel of Our Lady of the Pew.—In *Archaeologia*, LXVIII, 1916-17, pp. 1-20 (plan), C. L. KINGSFORD shows that the chapel of our Lady of the Pew in the Palace of Westminster is to be identified with the King's Oratory and that it lay immediately to the east of the Old Cloisters. The name is probably to be derived from the Old French *puie* meaning "rampart" or "balustrade." Many references to this chapel from the fourteenth century and later are given. It was probably pulled down some time in the eighteenth century.

Churchyard Crosses.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 79-89 (2 pls.; 11 figs.), A. VALLANCE describes a number of crosses set up in English church-

yards in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries, with parallel French examples. It seems evident that almost every churchyard once had its cross, frequently with fine sculptural decoration, which figured prominently in the celebration of Palm Sunday. Among other causes of the destruction of these most interesting monuments, the work of the iconoclasts accounts for a large toll.

English Alabaster Carvings.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.*, XXIX, 1917, pp. 74–93 (12 figs.), W. L. HILDBURGH publishes eleven English alabaster carvings. Seven of these, which are in the Museo Arqueológico at Madrid, represent the Birth, Dedication, Education, and Betrothal of the Virgin; also the Annunciation, the Nativity, and the Circumcision. These panels probably came from three sets of tables and date between 1420 and 1460. They are approximately fifteen inches high and ten inches wide. There are two in the museum at Cordova representing the Nativity and the Resurrection. They are slightly larger than the others and date from the latter part of the fifteenth century. Two other similar panels recently brought from Spain to England represent the Death of the Virgin and the Entombment of St. Etheldreda.

An Oak Carving of the Holy Trinity.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 214–217 (fig.), H. C. SMITH publishes an oak carving representing the Holy Trinity and bearing the date 1553. In spite of its date it is distinctly mediaeval in feeling. It retains much of its original coloring and is, in fact, a good piece of English relief work in wood.

A Ring with the Letters of St. Agatha.—In *Proc. Soc. Ant.* XXIX, 1917, pp. 114–122 (3 figs.), G. F. HILL publishes a ring of the fourteenth century bearing upon the hoop the words, + *mentem santam spontaneum honorem Deo patrie liber*, known as “St. Agatha’s letters.” This formula was often placed as a charm on church bells down to the sixteenth century, but is rare after that date. The ring also bears the owner’s name on the bezel surrounding a late Roman intaglio of a man’s head, + *anulo Pirrellu Pisano*. He may have been a Sicilian.

An English Tapestry Panel.—In *Archaeologia*, LXVIII, 1916–17, pp. 35–42 (2 pls.; fig.), Sir C. H. READ discusses a well-preserved panel of tapestry purchased by him in London in 1898. It represents the adoration of the Holy Trinity by the Virgin and Mary Magdalen attended by two standing angels. It is probably English work of about the year 1400.

Petit Point Needlework.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXIII, 1918, pp. 41–45 (2 pls.), C. E. C. TATTERSALL describes a fine example of *petit point* work belonging to Mr. E. L. Franklin, London. This particular kind of needlework was made as a substitute for loom-woven tapestry where the materials and elaborate apparatus required for the latter were scarce, as in England. *Petit point* is really an embroidery done on plain, loosely woven, linen canvas with short diagonal stitches in wool and silk. The work requires more patience and labor than skill. Mr. Franklin’s piece is one of the finest known and is apparently English of the late sixteenth century. Its subject has not been identified, but it seems to have reference to contemporary French history, *i.e.*, to the persecutions of the French Protestants. Other examples of *petit point* very similar to this one are in the Victoria and Albert Museum in South Kensington.

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BUST OF A YOUTH, SHAW COLLECTION, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.



BUST OF A YOUTH, SHAW COLLECTION, MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS, BOSTON.

TWO MARBLES IN THE MUSEUM OF FINE ARTS,
BOSTON

[PLATES I-III]

IN the Quincy Adams Shaw Collection, which came into the possession of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts on March 29, 1917, there are nineteen pieces of sculpture. Through the courtesy of the authorities of the Museum I was enabled to commence the study of these sculptures shortly after they were received. They were not yet on exhibition; no attributions had been made, and no documents relating to their origin or history were available; thus I was enabled to attack the problem of their authorship without previous commitment.¹

The two marbles selected for special study are a portrait bust of a youth (PLATES I and II), and an ideal portrait, in relief, of a Roman emperor (PLATE III). Both works belong obviously to the Italian Renaissance, and almost equally obviously to the fifteenth century.

I. BUST OF A YOUTH²

1. *The Composition and Form*

IN the Early Renaissance the composition of the portrait bust is simple and direct, as in the Filippo Strozzi of Benedetto da Maiano (Fig. 3). There is no sharp turning of the head for dramatic effect; no restless lines in hair or costume break up the contour as in Bernini's Francesco d'Este.³ The silhouette is

¹ Since the completion of this study the authorities of the Museum of Fine Arts have placed the Shaw Collection on public exhibition. The official catalogue (1918) contains brief notes on the sculptures with attributions by Professor Allan Marquand. These attributions he has discussed at somewhat greater length in a series of papers in *Art in America*, VI, 1918, pp. 229-239, 253-263; VII, 3-10. The relief of an emperor is given to Mino (VII, pp. 9-10). The bust of a youth is not discussed in the articles thus far published. In the catalogue it is said to be in the style of Mino.

² The bust with base measures 0.36 m. (14½ in.) in height.

³ M. Raymond, *La sculpture florentine*, IV, p. 197.

always kept quiet and serene. A marked similarity is recognizable in all the bust forms of the Early Renaissance. There are two distinct lengths used, a half-length, more accurately defined as terminating just below the breast; and a somewhat shorter length, terminating about the middle of the breast, which we may call the half-breast length. Both forms, including, as they did, the upper part of the arm, made possible a broad, firm mass or base, which was in turn supported on a definite foundation. This foundation followed the general line of the bust termination and formed an integral part of the whole; it imparts a rather severe and architectural feeling, which accords well with the simplicity and sobriety of the composition.

Donatello was perhaps responsible for the general adoption of both forms of bust. The half-length is found in the San Lorenzo in the Sacristy of San Lorenzo,¹ the San Giovanni in Berlin,² and the Niccolò da Uzzano in the Bargello,³ while the so-called young Gattamelata,⁴ also in the Bargello and attributed to Donatello, terminates in the half-breast length. Jacopo della Quercia, Ghiberti, and Luca della Robbia⁵ have probably left no portrait busts. The making of portrait busts was thus established on a firm basis, with accent on simplicity and gravity.

While the well-known portrait busts of the first half of the Renaissance may be counted on the fingers of two hands, in the second period all the sculptors of note tried their hand at portraiture. The masterful series of portraits which are definitely known, and the long list of unattributed works which beyond question belong to this period, bear witness to its productivity.

Desiderio did funeral monuments of men, but portraits of women. He and his Neapolitan contemporary, Laurana, left a series of women's portraits whose beauty, charm, and alluring qualities were not again equalled in the Italian Renaissance. These portraits were created in a style which continued the tradi-

¹ Reymond, II, p. 114.

² W. Bode, *Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance*, pl. LXI.

³ Reymond, II, p. 117.

⁴ Reymond, II, p. 115.

⁵ There is a bust of a boy in the Bargello ascribed by Bode to Luca della Robbia, under the title of a Boy-Christ, and by M. Cruttwell (*Luca and Andrea della Robbia*, p. 155) to Andrea della Robbia. This shows the half-length form. According to *L'Arte*, XX, 1917, p. 172, W. Biehl, *Mh. f. Kunstw.* 1915, No. 5, attributes to Luca della Robbia the bust of a young girl (No. 177) in the Bargello.

tions of the early form established by Donatello, the length ending just below the breast, or including only half of it.

Antonio Rossellino, in his portraits of Giovanni da San Miniato¹ and Matteo Palmieri (Fig. 1), adopts the form terminating below the breast and supported on the usual base.

Civitali was interested in the expression of religious emotion rather than in portraiture or in lighter and more playful subjects; yet in his *Ecce Homo*² in the Museum at Lucca he uses a portrait type of bust in the shortened form.



FIGURE 1.—MATTEO PALMIERI BY A. ROSSELLINO: BARGELLO.

Benedetto da Maiano in two splendidly realistic portraits of men, the Pietro Mellini in the Bargello (Fig. 2) and the Filippo Strozzi in the Louvre (Fig. 3) also conforms to the established type of bust, terminating below the breast.

Antonio Pollaiuolo departs slightly from the type in his bust of a young Florentine warrior,³ as does Verrocchio in his bust of a young man,⁴ if these works are rightly attributed; the former

¹ M. Reymond, III, p. 89.

² A. Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte italiana*, VI, p. 702.

³ Venturi, VI, p. 745.

⁴ Reymond, III, p. 115.

omits the arms, and in the latter they are separated from the body below the shoulder, while still included in the general mass. Both these works are in the Bargello.

Verrocchio uses also an entirely novel form, with more than waist length, which gives play to the hands as well; the type is exemplified in his *Young Women Holding the Flowers*,¹ in the Bargello.



FIGURE 2.—PIETRO MELLINI BY BENEDETTO DA MAIANO: BARGELLO.

Mino da Fiesole is by far the most prolific portraitist of his time. A list of his busts in chronological order, as arranged by Diego Angeli,² is as follows:

- * (?) 1456 Bust, Alexo di Luca Mini, Museum, Berlin.³
- * 1461 Bust, Conte Rinaldo della Luna, Bargello (Fig. 4).
- * 1462 Bust, Giovanni dei Medici, Bargello (Fig. 5).
- * 1463 (?) Bust, Piero dei Medici, Bargello (Fig. 6).
- * 1464 Bust, Diotisalvi Neroni, Dreyfus Collection, Paris.⁴
- * (?) 1465 Bust, Unknown Man, Berlin.

¹ Reymond, III, p. 214.

² Diego Angeli, *Mino da Fiesole* (1905), pp. 153–154. The mark of interrogation before the date indicates that in Angeli's opinion the attribution is doubtful; after the date that the year is uncertain. An asterisk indicates that the authorship of Mino is denied by Venturi, VI, pp. 636 ff., 654 note.

³ W. von Bode, 'Die marmorbüste des Alesso di Luca Mini von Mino da Fiesole,' *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.* XV, 1894, pp. 272–274, and pl.

⁴ Reymond, III, p. 113.

*1466 Bust, Ecce Homo, Museum, Berlin.

1472(?) Bust, Saint Catherine, Louvre.

1472(?) Bust, Saint Catherine, Collection Conte Palmieri, Siena.¹

*1473(?) Bust of Woman, Berlin.²

1480 Bust of Woman (unfinished), Private Collection, Florence.

*Bust, S. Giovanni, La Bardella Collection, Florence³

In these portraits, Mino da Fiesole may be taken as a representative of his period in the matter of composition and form of bust. He shows no departure from the established forms, and at the same time allows himself the freest variation within the given limits. No portrait busts are ascribed with certainty to Andrea della Robbia.⁴

By the end of the century more elaborate forms of bust began to appear in cities outside of Florentine influence. The marble bust of Beatrice d'Este in the Louvre,⁵ and the bronze bust of Francesco Gonzaga,⁶ both attributed to Gian Christoforo Romano, show signs of change in the north, but Christoforo Romano was trained in the classic atmosphere of Rome.

The bust of Carlo Zen attributed to Dalmata,⁷ who worked with Mino da Fiesole in Rome, in its pedestal, base, and free arms foreshadows the Roman type of bust of the sixteenth century. The solid base with the arms held firmly to the general mass by the garment is destined to give way to a form which will adapt itself to a pedestal type of support; this is foreign to Florentine busts and at variance with the fifteenth century style. The divergent sixteenth and seventeenth century forms are seen to advantage in Michelangelo's bust of Brutus,⁸ in Guglielmo della Porta's Paul III,⁹ and in Bernini's Francesco d'Este.

The Shaw bust is rounded off at the base, so as at present to

¹ Venturi, VI, p. 667. Venturi assigns this to a follower of Mini.

² D. Angeli, *Mino da Fiesole* (1905), p. 65.

³ Reymond, III, p. 115.

⁴ Reymond, III, p. 179, attributes a portrait of Giovanni Battista Almadiano at Viterbo to Andrea della Robbia, and cf. p. 220, note 5, above.

⁵ Venturi, VI, p. 1131.

⁶ Venturi, VI, p. 1135.

⁷ Venturi, VI, p. 1057.

⁸ Reymond, IV, p. 102.

⁹ Reymond, IV, p. 139.

require a hollow wooden pedestal, but this may well be the result of later modification, for the under side shows no arrangement for placing on a pedestal. It may thus have belonged either to the half-length or to the half-breast length; and, so far as the form is concerned, might have been the work of any of the sculptors of the early Renaissance in Florence.

2. *The Costume*

The costume of Florentine busts of the fifteenth century is relatively plain, except that the material represented may show an elaborate surface pattern. The treatment of the neck is



FIGURE 3.—FILIPPO STROZZI BY BENEDETTO DA MAIANO: LOUVRE.

always simple. There is either a single band, plain or with a fold or binding at the upper edge, or such a band within an outer one, indicating the presence of two garments. The fullness below the neck band falls into more or less regular folds or plaits, with the sleeve showing no sharp break from the body to interrupt the sculpturesque fall of the material. This is the type common to the male portraits of Antonio Rossellino, as seen in the Giovanni da San Miniato and the Matteo Palmieri (Fig. 1); of Civitali in the relief portrait in the predella of the Altar of San Regolo in the Duomo at Lucca, and in his *Ecce Homo*; of Benedetto da Maiano in the Pietro Mellini (Fig. 2) and the Filippo Strozzi (Fig. 3); and of the Giovanni Battista

Almadiano at Viterbo. Antonio Pollaiuolo and Verrocchio alone strikingly differ in costume, as they differ also in the form of the bust. They were primarily workers in bronze, whereas the others were workers in marble. Verrocchio in the *Young Man in the Bargello* chooses a tight-fitting garment with sleeves which are sharply outlined and separated from the body, but exceedingly severe withal. Pollaiuolo uses the tight-fitting body in the costume of his young Florentine warrior, and like Verrocchio retains the simple lines of the neck.



FIGURE 4.—RINALDO DELLA LUNA BY MINO DA FIESOLE: BARGELLO.

If we turn to the series of portraits by Mino da Fiesole, we shall find that he uses three types of costume according to the portrait requirements. These types are the classic Roman style, as in the *Diotisalvi Neroni*, the Florentine military style, as in the *Giovanni dei Medici*, and the conventional costume with the simple neck and the fullness falling in folds on the breast; the last type is represented by the *Piero dei Medici* and the *Rinaldo della Luna*, (Figs. 6 and 4).

Having clearly in mind the characteristics of the costume of the different sculptors of the fifteenth century, we turn to an analysis of the costume of the *Shaw bust*.

First, we notice that a single piece of material is brought from back to front, forming a close-fitting band about the neck. In the back this material is extended down from the neck toward the middle of the shoulders. The collar band is held together in the front by a single button, and is topped by a fold which does not stand out rigid and straight, as if lined or stiffened, but sinks slightly towards the centre as an unlined fold naturally will when the material is not over thick. The garment is cut somewhat circular in front, so that while it fits smoothly about the base of



FIGURE 5.—GIOVANNI DEI MEDICI BY MINO DA FIESOLE: BARGELLO.

the neck, it falls with some fullness over the breast, and is carried smooth and flat across the shoulder and down the back, leaving the V of the collar at the back distinctly outlined. The beginning of the sleeve is clearly indicated, but the shape of the bust does not give room for more than a close-fitting top of the sleeve; the body garment is laid over the arm-hole as is naturally the case when the seam is turned toward the shoulder. The plaits start high on the chest and are laid with exactness side for side, gradually widening with line of plait following line of plait, giving the appearance of having been pressed into shape.

A detailed comparison of the costume of the Shaw bust with

that shown in the Giovanni da San Miniato and Matteo Palmieri (Fig. 1), in the *Ecce Homo* and the relief portrait of the Altar of San Regolo, and in the Pietro Mellini (Fig. 2) and Filippo Strozzi (Fig. 3), reveals the fact that no close relationship exists between our bust and these works. Its authorship is thus not to be found in Antonio Rossellino, Civitali, or Benedetto da Maiano, any more than in Antonio Pollaiuolo or Verrocchio. A comparison with the costumes as shown in the busts of Mino da Fiesole at once shows relationship. For this reason we take up in more detail the analysis of the costumes as shown in his busts and other works bearing on the subject under discussion.

The busts by Mino da Fiesole closely resemble one another both in the treatment of the neck and in the precision with which the fullness is arranged. We may note the neck band, for example, as seen in the Bishop Salutati, the Piero dei Medici, and the Rinaldo della Luna. It is relatively narrow; it fits the neck snugly; it is unadorned save with a delicate fold at the top, and it closes simply in the front with one or two small buttons. We may compare the treatment of the band at the top with similar treatment by other sculptors of the period. It does not round out slightly; it does not stand straight and even; it is not simply a binding; it is not a simply a ridge, neither is it a roll of material, but it is a fold; narrow, and of almost identical width in each case, slightly sunken in the middle as a soft unlined fold would naturally be.

This use of a band or a fold is one of the mannerisms of Mino da Fiesole. We see the same type of fold used to top the gown of the Young Girl in Berlin; also edging the sleeves of the Madonna, and giving a finish to her garments at the neck. It was an especially dainty and at the same time severe trimming which the sculptor allowed himself; its character is always the same, a somewhat thin material, which gives a little in the centre, adding a certain softness to a certain severity.

If, again, we examine Mino's treatment of the fullness at the front of the costume in his busts, excluding those in the draped classic toga or in the military costume with overlying cloak, if we analyze the costume of the Piero dei Medici (Fig. 6) and the Rinaldo della Luna (Fig. 4), we find him always following a definite scheme in the arrangement of fullness of any sort. He does not allow it to fall naturally or irregularly. An analysis of the costume of the Piero dei Medici shows plaits starting high on

the chest and lying straight downward and flat, in exact and orderly manner, side for side, plait for plait, line for line. The type of costume is not peculiar to Mino da Fiesole. It is a Florentine costume of the period, but his treatment of the plaits is his own.

A glance at the manner of arranging the fullness in the Madonna's skirt, the symmetrical plaits in the costume of the young Francesco Tornobuoni,¹ on the tomb in S. Maria sopra Minerva, Rome, and the arrangement of the plaits to take up the fullness in



FIGURE 6.—PIERO DEI MEDICI BY MINO DA FIESOLE: BARGELLO.

the sleeve of the Young Girl in Berlin, will make clear to anyone how exactly they branch from a centre and with what precision they are laid in folds which gradually widen out in symmetrical lines. The Rinaldo della Luna, the authenticity of which is generally admitted, may well be given a more detailed analysis. The fullness, here, starts high on the chest, almost at the neck band; the material is laid in the most exact and ordered way, in plaits widening out as they go down, but keeping their form distinct and clear, and rather flat as if pressed into shape.

¹ G. S. Davies, *Renascence Tombs of Rome*, Fig. 31.

In the costume of the Rinaldo della Luna, furthermore, the material is brought flat over the shoulders, and shows a V-effect on the back; the outer garment is enriched by bands of fur and by a raised pattern on the arm and in the V-shaped back of the undergarment. On comparing the treatment of the costume of the Shaw bust with that of the Rinaldo della Luna we



FIGURE 7.—BISHOP SALUTATI BY MINO DA FIESOLE: FIESOLE.

are confronted with indubitable facts, which cannot be merely accidental. The fold edging the collar band in the Shaw bust is a Mino da Fiesole fold, carved with his distinct mannerism; narrow, soft enough to sink somewhat in the centre, and of an exquisite feeling for precision and elegance. The collar band in its character and the way it fits the neck, in its manner of closing, and in its width, in all particulars, suggests the style of Mino; such treatment is seen in the Bishop Salutati (Fig. 7), the Piero

dei Medici, and the Rinaldo della Luna. The precision and orderliness of the arrangement of the fullness in our bust also shows close resemblance to the arrangement in the Mino busts, and relates itself in character to all his arrangements of fullness in costumes.

We need not affirm that in the Shaw bust there is absolute correspondence with these. There is, however, a relation much more important than exact correspondence—a relation which comes from the same feeling for underlying facts and the same interpretation of their expression, accompanied by the slight variations which evidence a similar underlying feeling; such variations are much more convincing evidence than exact imitation with a different underlying feeling, which marks the handiwork of one copying or working in the manner of another.

To sum up our analysis of the costume, in style and in detailed treatment we find a definite kinship between the Shaw bust and the busts by Mino da Fiesole, with a striking relationship between the Shaw bust and the Rinaldo della Luna.

3. *The Hair*

The treatment of the hair in the Shaw bust is characteristic both in arrangement and in details. The hair radiates from the crown as a common centre, keeping the general shape of the head clear by lying rather flat over the front and crown, and ending in rich clustering curls about the ears and neck; the curls do not hang free and float about, giving a sense of airiness and movement, but are, rather, in a compact mass, well-ordered, and with all the ends turning inward. The strands have an individual character. One feels that each slender strand maintains its own identity; each has a surface somewhat rounding—shall we call it a “macaroni” strand?—each sweeps from centre of crown to front of neck in an ordered curve, revealing a sense of rhythm and feeling for decoration.

For comparison we may pass under review definite works of the fifteenth century Renaissance. Agostino di Duccio’s *Madonna and Child with attendant Angels* in the *Opera del Duomo*,¹ has certain elements in common with our bust. There is the separation of the hair into strands, with a feeling for ordered curves; but there is no possibility of mistaking one for the other; drapery and hair with Agostino form one lovely artificial swirl of

¹ Raymond, III, p. 51.

curving, rhythmic lines picked out here and there with delicate faces like spots in a flowing, decorative pattern.

In Christoforo Romano's Beatrice d'Este, we find strands again somewhat similar and arranged with simplicity and severity; each strand is accounted for, but the upper surfaces of the strands are edged rather than rounded.

In the hair in the relief portrait bust of Giovanni II Bentivoglio by Antonio Bal¹ we observe the feeling for individual strands, but the arrangement and the feeling underlying it have little in common with the Shaw bust. In place of the edge given to the strands of hair of the Beatrice d'Este we have, in this bust, a flat, ribbon-like effect; the strands fall without curls and carefully lap and overlap until the effect of a compact mass is secured. Again we do not have in the Shaw bust the treatment of hair seen in the busts of Giovanni da San Miniato and Matteo Palmieri, nor the freedom of arrangement and loosely curling quality which the older child-forms and the youthful angels of Antonio Rossellino have. Nor do we find in our bust any resemblance to the short strands of the Pietro Mellini (Fig. 2) or the Filippo Strozzi (Fig. 3), nor the character of rich clustering curls which frame the faces of Benedetto da Maiano's angels, such as may be seen in the angel of the Altar of San Domenico in Siena² and the angels on the Altar of San Bartolo;³ nor, again, to the broad massing of the hair with the ends breaking up into curls on the neck, as in the so-called Machiavelli,⁴ nor to the treatment of hair by Matteo Civitali in his Adam⁵ in the Cathedral of Genoa, in the Ecce Homo, or the portrait in relief in the predella of the Altar of San Regulo. We must conclude that the treatment of the hair in the Shaw bust, as regards general character and detailed arrangement, offers no decisive point of contact with the manner of the sculptors whose work has been discussed.

Two sculptors, Desiderio and Mino da Fiesole, remain to be considered.

We note at once a relationship in form between the strands of hair in the Shaw bust and those seen in the Children supporting the coat of arms on the Marsuppini Tomb,⁶ and in the San

¹ Venturi, VI, p. 801.

² Reymond, III, p. 138.

³ Venturi, VI, p. 692.

⁴ Reymond, III, p. 142.

⁵ Reymond, III, p. 120.

⁶ Venturi, VI, p. 417.

Giovannino of the Martelli Family by Desiderio (Fig. 8). In these busts we have the early manner of Desiderio, which is a little less supple than his later manner. In the arrangement of the hair there is obviously no connection.

In the treatment of hair by Mino da Fiesole we observe a striking resemblance. In the general arrangement of the hair, as seen in the authentic bas-reliefs, in the Angels of Volterra,¹ and in the portrait busts of Piero and Giovanni dei Medici (Fig. 6 and 5), and especially in the Rinaldo della Luna (Fig. 4), there is a distinct radiation from the crown as a centre; the hair is brought forward over the brow without parting, the strands

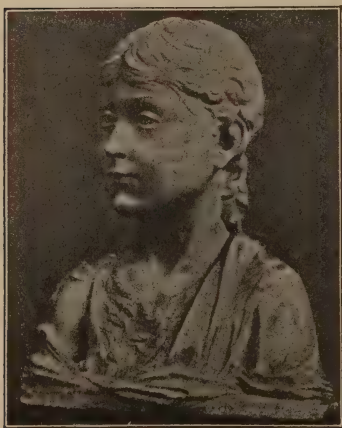


FIGURE 8.—SAN GIOVANNINO BY DESIDERIO: WIDENER COLLECTION

end in close curls about the ears and neck, and the lines of the curls all turn in. The contour of the head at the back is distinct; the strands do not float or fall freely, but are kept uniform and close to the head, until they resolve themselves into close compact masses of well-ordered curls. The contour is characteristic; it is especially noticeable in Mino's bas-reliefs in the Prato pulpit.²

The individual strands are invariably of the peculiar "macaroni" type. This type we recognized in the early manner of Desiderio; Mino may have taken it over into his own work, as he did

other qualities of Desiderio's technique, in each case falling into a mannerism which remained with him to the end. This mannerism is noted not only in Mino's own work but also in sculptures attributed to Mino del Reame, who worked in conjunction with him in Rome; Mino del Reame shows the hair less elegantly arranged, and more coarse in its manipulation. The same character of curve in the individual strands and similar technical handling of the curve are seen in all Mino's works.

Particularly close is the resemblance between the Rinaldo della Luna and the Shaw bust. The two heads look almost alike

¹ D. Angeli, *Mino da Fiesole*, pp. 15, 73.

² Reymond, III, p. 101.

when seen from the back (Fig. 9). In the Shaw bust the hair drops a little lower on the neck; it is a trifle more carefully arranged, and falls a little lower also on the brow and the temples, as is proper for a lad whose hair is thick and has a softer texture, characteristic of youth. But this is not a case of copying from one to the other; in the two busts there is the same underlying feeling for pattern, for strand, for rhythm, and there is a certain youthful quality which is especially characteristic of Mino da



FIGURE 9.—BUST OF RINALDO DELLA LUNA AND THE SHAW BUST FROM BEHIND.

Fiesole. There is substantial identity, with just enough variation in feeling to mark the hand of the sculptor of both as one and the same.

4. *The Face*

A glance is sufficient to assure us that our bust is a portrait. Even if it were not in the formal costume of a Florentine youth, one would know that it was not a lad of Florence doing duty as a model for some youthful saint, some San Giovannino. The contour of the face, the line of the nose, lips, and chin when seen in profile, the squarish jaw and the prominent cheek bones, suggest a definite person, not an ideal creation. Very distinctly this is a portrait, not just as distinctly there is impressed upon it the temperament of the sculptor.

A detailed examination of the face will help us to bring it into relation with the treatment of the features by other Renaissance

sculptors. The brows are strongly defined. They form a well-marked angle with the nose, and their clear-cut outline is maintained to the base of the brow at the outer angle of the eyelids. The upper eyelid is also clear-cut, and the space between the ridge of the brow and the eyelid rather short, with no superfluous flesh to round it out or to make it project at the inner or outer angle. A well defined line marks the folding of the flesh over the eyelid itself. The edge of the upper and lower lid is sharp, and does not melt into the form of the eyeball. The space between these lids is long and narrow, the corners are well defined. The eyeball is well enclosed, and does not round out to produce a bulging effect, or even an effect of prominence. It is long rather than wide, and somewhat flat; it is modelled to produce the effect of color and life by a deep rimming of the iris and by the hollowing out of the pupil. The plane of the lower lid is also clearly differentiated from that of the cheek, but again modelled without superfluous fullness. The upper eyelids are lowered, and form an important element in the expression of the face. With all the sharpness and clear definition shown in the treatment of the eye, there is a wonderful delicacy. One feels the thinness and transparency of the upper eyelids, and one is conscious of the eyelid rather than of the eyeball.

What sculptor, we may ask, treats the brow and eye, the nose, mouth, and contour in this personal way?

Desiderio's treatment of the brow and eye is shown, for example, in the San Giovannino of the Martelli family (Fig. 8) and in the Unknown Woman in the Bargello.¹ There is some resemblance in the clear-cut eyelids, but there the resemblance ends. The space between the ridge of the brow and the upper eyelid is wide, and the flesh here presents a characteristic modelling, while the eyebrow also shows a different technique.

In the Beatrice of Aragon in the Dreyfus collection,² in the so-called Marietta Strozzi in Berlin³ and in the Unknown Woman in the Louvre,⁴ portraits whose current attribution lies between Desiderio and Laurana, the space between the ridge of the brow and the upper lid is wide, the flesh is subtly modelled, and the eyelid is lowered. In all these the feeling in regard

¹ Venturi, VI, p. 429.

² W. Bode. *Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance*, pl. LVI.

³ Venturi, VI, p. 426.

⁴ Reymond, III, p. 73.

to the eyeball and to the way the upper lid is lowered over it, is entirely different from that of the Shaw bust. The drooping upper lids are of the utmost delicacy and transparency, but make one conscious of the eyeball, not of the eyelid as in the Shaw bust. And in these portraits of women there is a haunting feeling of something we do not quite comprehend, while there is no mystery concealed within the lowered lids of the Shaw bust. If we compare the drooping eyelid seen in Agostino di Duccio's Madonna of the Opera del Duomo, we feel the eyelid rather than the eyeball, and we are not concerned with the thought back of the whole. One has the impression of a slit-like opening between the lids rather than the more expressive treatment of the eye-opening in the Shaw bust.

Our bust, furthermore, has not the prominent and simply modelled type of eye shown in the Young Warrior by Pollaiuolo, or in the faces by Benedetto da Maiano; it has not the over-prominent eyes of the Beatrice d'Este, nor yet the type of eye seen in Civitali, or in the San Giovannino in the Bargello, or the Boy-Christ¹ in the Pierpont Morgan Collection assigned to Antonio Rossellino. In all these cases the lids are sharply modelled, and the eyeballs quite unlike those of the Shaw bust. Verrocchio's Madonna and Child in the Bargello also shows the lowered eyes; but how cold and aloof, how sharply defined the lowered eye of the Shaw bust appears when compared with the subtly modelled brows and lowered lids of Verrocchio! What a mannered touch again, the eyes of our bust reveal when compared with the freshly natural eyes of Luca or Andrea della Robbia!

Such variations no longer appear when we turn to the delineation of the eye and brow by Mino da Fiesole. We are at once struck by a marked similarity in the treatment of the eye in all his works. There is always a clear, well defined upper lid, there is a definitely marked lower lid rising from the cheek, there is no superfluous flesh above the upper lid or below the lower lid, and the strongly outlined brow extends downward to the outer corner of the eyelids, with the space between the ridge of the brow and the upper eyelid rather short. The upper lid slightly overlaps the lower at the outer corner. Such might have been the eyes of the Bishop Salutati in his youth before age set its mark upon them; such are the eye and brow of the San Giovannino in the La Bardella collection in Florence; of such a character are

¹ W. Bode. *Florentine Sculptors of the Renaissance*, pl. LX.

the eyes in the bas-reliefs on the Prato pulpit; such is the character of the Piero dei Medici (Fig. 6) and the Giovanni dei Medici (Fig. 5); precisely similar are the brow and eyes of the two authentic Madonnas in bas-relief in the Bargello; and such are the brow and eye in the Rinaldo della Luna, Mino's best authenticated portrait. The eyeball in each case is well within the lids, never suggesting any sense of being too prominent or too protruding. The iris is always rimmed with a sharp line cut into the marble and the pupil is always incised deeply. This type of eye is also to be seen in the bas-relief of a woman in the Bargello (Fig. 10), in the bas-relief of the young Aurelius Caesar in the Bargello (Fig. 11) and in the bas-relief of a Roman Emperor in the Shaw collection in the Boston Museum (PLATE III).

Though the eyes in no two cases are modelled exactly alike, the underlying sentiment is the same in all, and the technique is the same, with just enough variation to give the authentic touch to all of them. If we compare the Shaw bust with the Rinaldo della Luna (Fig. 4), we find a marked resemblance in the technique used. If we compare it with the eyes of the Madonnas in the tondo bas-relief and the panel bas-relief in the Bargello, authentic works of Mino da Fiesole, we find a marked similarity, because in these the eyes of the Mother and the Child are both lowered, giving an expression resembling that of the Shaw bust. This comparison of the treatment of the eye of the Shaw bust with the treatment of the eye by other sculptors, with the exception of Mino da Fiesole, reveals no relationship in underlying feeling or detailed treatment. On the other hand the comparison of the treatment of the eye of the Shaw bust with the treatment of the eye in the authentic works of Mino da Fiesole, and in a lesser degree in those attributed to him, establishes this conclusion, that the form of the brow, the shape of the upper lid, the way the lower lid meets the cheek, the form of the eyeball, the lack of superfluous flesh above the upper lid and below the lower, the modelling of the eyeball, the rimming of the iris and the incision of the pupil, with the resultant color effect, the feeling for the eyelid rather than for the eyeball, and the underlying expression of the eye, not so hauntingly mysterious as indicative of aloofness and hauteur, are evidence of identity of authorship.

The nose is long and slender; in the profile view it shows a slightly aquiline character, suggestive of Roman ancestry. Its profile differs from that of the noses of Desiderio as seen in the

San Giovannino of the Martelli family (Fig. 8) or the Unknown Woman in the Bargello. It also differs in its slenderness and its Roman touch from the long slender noses of Laurana's women; it is a portrait, and as such should retain its portrait features, but it recalls at once, by way of distinct resemblance, the slightly Roman nose of the Young Girl, in Berlin, by Mino da Fiesole. It is the nose of his authentic Madonnas in the Bargello (Figs. 14, 15); it relates itself to the bas-relief of a woman in the Bargello (Fig. 10); it is a younger expression of the type of nose in the Bishop Salutati (Fig. 7); it is the form seen in the Shaw bas-relief of a Roman Emperor (PLATE III); it is the nose which reappears, in the larger and firmer form, in the Rinaldo della Luna (Fig. 4). Mino da Fiesole had a particular liking for long, slender, delicate, and slightly Roman noses. It was a part of his scheme for the expression of elegance, delicacy, and sense of high breeding. Mino realized that nothing added the distinctive touch of social distinction and refined elegance as did the Roman nose. The nose of the Shaw bust is not the vigorous type, with the strong modelling which we find in the noses of the profiles of the Caesars on Filarete's doors of St. Peter's Church in Rome. But in all of Mino's authentic works there is not absolute truth to anatomy, there is rather a certain naïve touch; an added charm comes from this very lack, as we feel in the case of his Madonnas, in his Young Girl in Berlin, and in the Shaw bust. We are justified in sustaining the comparison of the Shaw bust with the Madonna and the Young Girl in Berlin, because the youth of the Shaw bust permits a more delicate treatment than the older Rinaldo della Luna.

The mouth of the Shaw bust is modelled with knowledge and forms an important element in the expression. The upper lip shows a well managed curve, which dips slightly over the lower lip as it approaches the outer corner; and a deep indentation in the middle, from the base of the nose, together with the slight upward turning of the lip towards the centre, plays its part in creating that feeling of hauteur which is the special characteristic of this face. The under lip is full and carefully rounded and the distance between the chin and the lip is long; and while the lower lip throws a shadow on the chin, it does not unite with the chin to give a protruding effect either to the lip or to the chin. This mouth is not a mere slit, just as the opening between the eyelids is not; it is carefully thought out. A distinctive touch is seen also

in the way that the flesh shadows the outer corners of the lips masking the very end. The chin is that of a youth, not the firm chin of manhood, with its form and lines definitely determined and matured. It is somewhat squarish, notwithstanding its soft, childish form, and has a centre marked by a deep cleft, with the profile showing an almost equal length to the curve of the lower lip and the curve of the chin. There is just the suggestion of a slightly receding rather than a prominent chin, and one feels that the modelling is not especially significant, just as in the treatment of the nose one felt a slight inaccuracy in modelling.

If we consider the mouth and chin as one and follow our usual method of comparison, there is no similarity traceable between the lips and chin of the Shaw bust and those of the San Giovannino of Antonio Rossellino in the Bargello or of the Boy-Christ in the Morgan collection. In each case the curve of the lower lip is short, leaving the rounded portion of the chin long. The normal form of mouth and chin, as seen in the della Robbia type, does not ally itself with the treatment in the Shaw bust. The forms found in Desiderio's San Giovannino of the Martelli family (Fig. 8), or seen in profile in his portraits of women, and shown in the portraits of women by Laurana, have nothing in common with that of the Shaw bust, although the curve of the chin and the curve of the lip are of about equal length.

With due allowance for the difference in age, the mouth and chin of the Shaw bust are such as Mino da Fiesole figures in the Bishop Salutati (Fig. 7); this shows relatively equal length of lip and chin, also a similar dividing curve and cleft in the middle. The mouth and the chin of the San Giovannino in the La Bardella collection are substantially identical in modelling. Closely connected in form are also the two Madonnas in the Bargello (Figs. 14, 15), and the type used in the Rinaldo della Luna. The profile of mouth and chin in the Shaw bust is almost identical with that of the bas-relief Portrait of a Woman in the Bargello, as well as that of the bas-relief of a Roman emperor in the Shaw collection in Boston (PLATE III). Though we are dealing with the portrait of a definite person, we are again confronted with a mannerism which associated itself irresistibly with the style of Mino da Fiesole; and we note just those slight variations which support the theory that it is not from the hand of a copyist, or even one trained in Mino's manner. Such mannerism in the

treatment of the mouth, like that in the treatment of the fold at the top of the neck-band is the sort of detail which would elude the technique of all save the originator.

The shape of the face is distinctive. The bony character is emphasized, as well as a squareness which we have already noticed. The high cheek bones are made prominent. The sharply outlined jaw is distinctly marked toward the ear, emphasizing the bony framework. The somewhat hollow cheeks and rather squarish chin are further personal traits of the subject.

If we compare this shape of face with that adopted by Donatello in his *San Giovannino* or his young *San Lorenzo*, or with the healthy rounding forms of *Luca* or *Andrea della Robbia*, with the *San Giovannino* or the portraits of women by *Desiderio*; or again, with the forms seen in *Antonio Rossellino's San Giovannino* or in his angels of similar age, with the form seen in the *Adoring Angels* or the *Hope of Civitali*, or finally, with the form seen in the *Angels of Benedetto da Maiano* representing approximately the age of the *Shaw bust* or his portraits of older men, as the *Pietro Mellini* (Fig. 2) or the *Filippo Strozzi* (Fig. 3), there is no relationship close enough to suggest identity of authorship with any one of these.

When we turn to the works of *Mino da Fiesole*, whose long list of portraits offers wide opportunity for comparison, we find in all of them the same tendency to squarishness, all of them make prominent the cheek bones and the jaw. Specifically, if we compare the *Shaw bust* with the faces of the *Madonnas* in the *Bargello* (Figs. 14, 15), and especially if we analyze the treatment of the face of the *Rinaldo della Luna* (Fig. 4), these characteristics are markedly evident, though each feature in the latter is somewhat more vigorous and firm, as is fitting in a mature man. The underlying facts of the whole face evince the same manner and the same underlying feeling, again with those slight variations which point to a common origin for the *Shaw bust* and the works of *Mino da Fiesole*.

The sculptor's emphasis of the bony framework with the consequent elimination of superfluous flesh again suggests a distinctive feeling for a high-bred type. This, and the manifest feeling for clearness of outline rather than softly rounding curves, are characteristic qualities of *Mino's* work.

In *Mino da Fiesole's* faces, there is nothing mysteriously alluring. The lowered lids and faintly smiling mouths do not tempt

us to speculation, as do the haunting eyes and lips of Laurana, or the subtly smiling eyes and lips of Leonardo's creations. We do not look for depth and profound feeling; the surface tells us all we are to know.

The detailed examination of the bust thus seems to warrant us in drawing the following conclusions: In underlying sentiment, in composition, in simplicity of form, in the treatment of costume, of the hair, of the different features there is the most complete identity with the work of Mino da Fiesole. This agreement is especially noticeable with the bust of Rinaldo della Luna. The resemblance between this portrait and the Shaw bust is so striking that we may hazard the conjecture of relationship; the person represented in the Shaw bust may well have been a brother or a son of Rinaldo della Luna.

II. RELIEF OF A ROMAN EMPEROR

In the absence of documentary evidence, the discussion of this relief (Plate III)¹, as of the bust of the youth, must be based upon the evidence of the relief itself, upon style, conception, and technique.

The designing of a decorative panel to contain a face necessarily involves a departure from literal facts. The fitting of the figure to the design now becomes a primary concern of the sculptor. Nevertheless it must be said that the sculptors of the Renaissance were generally happy in relief composition, and were able to utilize the decorative value of the human head without doing too great violence to natural proportions.

Our relief presents a profile view of a Roman emperor, the composition being limited to the head and shoulders. The emperor is in military costume; his cloak is draped in decorative fashion about the back and shoulders, and so arranged as to leave only the sleeve of the cuirass visible. A wreath of laurel leaves and berries, tied at the back with short fluttering ribbons, is the sole adornment of the hair.

In accordance with the Roman tradition, the pose is active, and the gaze is definitely held by something in the near distance. The muscles of the face and throat are not relaxed, and the eye is not unfocused, as it is when the thought is wandering in dreamy reverie or lost in a moment of repose. The glance is keen and

¹ The bas-relief measures 0.40 m. (15¾ in.) in height, 0.33 m. (13 in.) in width.

sharp, the lips are slightly parted, and the chin is held high. The hair is arranged in simple fashion; it is held in place by a wreath, which is now and then lost in the over-lying strands. The nose is long, and slightly Roman, as befits the subject. Though the Emperor is not old, care has lined his lofty brow and the some-



FIGURE 10.—PORTRAIT OF A WOMAN BY MINO DA FIESOLE: BARGELLO.

what sunken temples, and the hollowed cheeks serve to emphasize the bony structure of the face, bringing into prominence the high cheek bones and lower jaw.

There can be no question that this relief had its origin in the period of the Early Renaissance, and in the Florentine School of the second half of this period.

In attacking the problem of attribution, there are certain names

which can be at once dismissed from consideration on grounds of style and technique. Antonio Pollaiuolo was a worker in bronze. Verrocchio was also primarily a worker in bronze, although he did use other media. Their handiwork, shown in the tomb of Sixtus IV and in the portrait bust of a young warrior, in the bronze portrait bust of a Young Florentine and in the marble bust of a



FIGURE 11.—AURELIUS CAESAR BY MINO DA FIESOLE: BARGELLO.

Young Girl Holding Flowers in the Bargello, relates itself in no way to that of the Shaw relief.

Civitali's soul was always seeking expression in subjects tinged with religious fervor; none of his works suggest, even remotely, any connection with purely decorative designs.

Benedetto da Maiano's faces are sweet and wide-eyed, and in his religious works have no distinct significance; it is only in his portraits that he becomes vividly realistic, and these have nothing in common with the qualities of the Shaw relief.

Luca and Andrea della Robbia may also as surely be disregarded on grounds of type as well as technique.

By this process of elimination three sculptors remain to be considered as possible authors of the Shaw relief. These are Desiderio da Settignano, Antonio Rossellino, and Mino da Fiesole. The three names are significant in this connection, for the reason that each has been associated at some time with one or more of a group of decorative panels having the profile head in relief, with which our panel has obvious relations. These are the Caesar in the Louvre, published by Venturi and ascribed by him to Desiderio (Fig. 13); the portrait of a woman in the Bargello (Fig. 10), signed by Mino, and accepted as genuine by Angeli, Bode, Raymond, and Venturi; and the Aurelius Caesar (Fig. 11), in the Bargello, referred to by Venturi as in the manner of A. Rossellino, though other authorities are in agreement in ascribing it to Mino.

A solution of our problem can only come through the analysis of details.

1. *The Frame*

The frame, in which no curves are employed, presents a characteristic section, having the profile shown in Figure 12. It shows some relationship with the type used in the Aurelius Caesar, which also has a bevelled edge.

The Shaw relief, the Aurelius Caesar, and the profile of a Young Woman have room at the base for an inscription. The space allotted for this in the Shaw relief and in the Aurelius Caesar has the same character.

If the bevelled edge of the Shaw relief were carried to the plane of the background, as in the Aurelius Caesar, the two reliefs would be almost identical in the matter of framing.

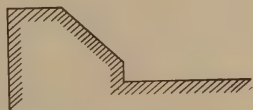


FIGURE 12.

2. *Composition*

A comparison of the Shaw relief and that of the Caesar of Desiderio reveals no relationship in the matter of composition. It is true that in each panel the edge of the chin comes midway in the height. But the treatment of the neck makes the effect of the composition quite different. In the Caesar the filling of the space below the hair by the long ribbons, and the modelling

of the neck into loose folds of flesh connect the bust and the head in such a way that one does not think of them as separate elements in the design. In the Shaw relief there is a distinct separation of the masses of head and bust by the treatment of the neck.

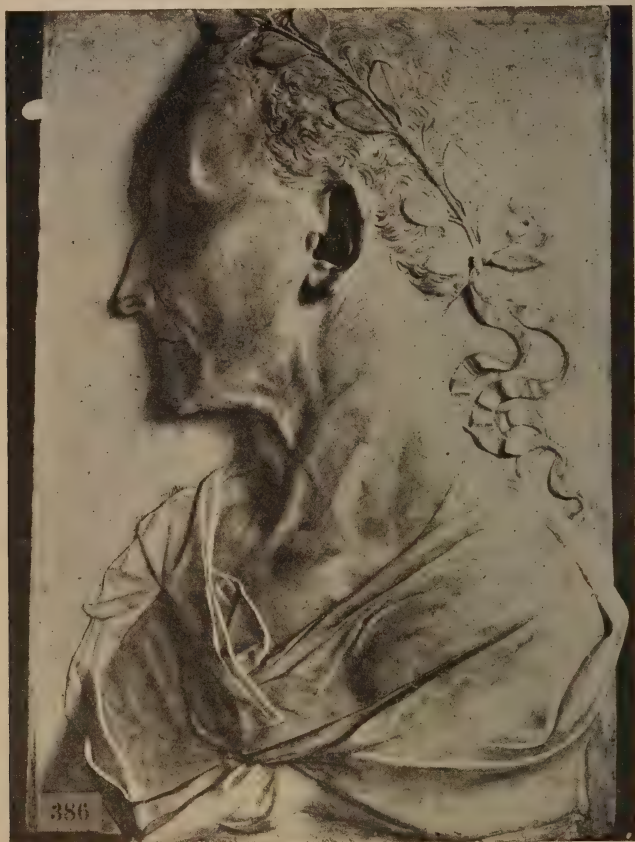


FIGURE 13 —CAESAR(?) BY DESIDERIO DA SETTIGNANO: LOUVRE.

A comparison of the Shaw relief with the Woman in bas-relief (Fig. 10) and the Young Aurelius Caesar (Fig. 11) discloses a close correspondence in composition. In the three reliefs the figure is placed midway between the two sides, and touches both the upper and lower edges of the frame. The lower portion in each case is filled with drapery which is carried to the two sides,

thus suggesting a broad background for the bust. There is a decorative arrangement, rather than the realistic form of the drapery of Desiderio's Caesar, and there is the same difference in proportion between the mass of the head and the mass of the drapery. There is also a distinct differentiation between the head and shoulders, emphasized by the treatment of the neck.

3. *The Hair*

The hair of the Shaw relief radiates from the crown in slightly waving strands, which terminate on the neck in a compact, mass of curls; on the brow they do not lie flat, but are curled under, thus lifting the wreath so that the topmost berries lie on the bevelled edge of the frame. The strands in their ordered arrangement do not obscure the contour of the head, and the ends all turn in, with the exception of the single strand at the back, which balances the ribbons of the wreath; and the few strands at the top are carved into the bevelled surface of the frame. The strands are of that peculiar "macaroni" type which we have discussed in connection with the treatment of the hair of the Shaw bust of a Youth. The individual strands making up the curly mass which lies upon the neck have a crescent form so that one is in doubt sometimes whether the strand is curling upward and under or downward and under.

The wreath does not rest upon the surface of the hair as in the Caesar of Desiderio (Fig. 13), but the hair falls over it here and there. The leaves do not branch from the stem with the exactness of those in the wreath of the Caesar, but are somewhat pressed together and are arranged in pairs, the berries filling in the spaces without regard to absolute truth to nature, as in the Aurelius Caesar.

In our discussion of the treatment of the hair in Early Renaissance sculpture generally (pp. 230-232) we were brought to the conclusion that this distinct radiation of the hair from the crown in slightly waving strands terminating on the neck in a compact curling mass with the ends all turned in, and this peculiar "macaroni" type of strand, were mannerisms of Mino da Fiesole, not found in the work of any other sculptor.

To obtain data for comparison with Mino's treatment of hair, we shall do well to use certain works in the round which are indisputably his, since the one of the relief panels which is signed

by him represents a woman, and the authorship of the other has been called into question. If we compare the hair of the Shaw relief with the hair of the Rinaldo della Luna (Fig. 4) and with that of the Shaw bust of a Youth (PLATE II), a distinct agreement is at once apparent, both in the arrangement of the hair and in the character of the individual strands. In the detailed arrangement of the strands there is some variation. In the Rinaldo della Luna and the Shaw bust the strands are all kept close to the head; in the Shaw relief a few strands on the top of the head are freed from the main mass and carried upward on the bevelled edge of the frame; and, on the back of the head, one strand is turned outward and slightly upward.

The variations in contour are explained by the fact that the Shaw relief is a decorative panel, and concession has been made to the decorative design; the wreath, the strands of hair on the top, and the out-turning strand and ribbons on the back have their part in the decorative design. Such variations within the same general arrangement may be construed as illustrating the statement that a man reveals and maintains his own mannerism in the handling of small details, while through precisely the absence of such slight changes the copyist, or one working in the manner of another, is betrayed.

4. *The Features*

An examination of the eyebrow and the eye will also be instructive. The eyebrow has a distinctly marked connection with the nose, and its clear cut outline is maintained to the outer edge of the eyelid. The space between the ridge of the brow and the upper lid is narrow, and there is no superfluous fullness. The flesh is folded over the eyelid in a well defined line; the upper and lower lids are both sharply defined, and the upper slightly overlaps the lower at the outer edge.

This treatment of the eyebrow and eye corresponds with the treatment of the same features by Mino da Fiesole, both in underlying sentiment and in technique. It relates itself closely with the Rinaldo della Luna as seen in profile; it shows similarity to the eye of the Shaw bust as seen in profile (PLATE II). There is some variation within the close relationship, for there is a slight fullness below the lower lid, not in the way of superfluous flesh. It is the same treatment of the eye that we see in the Profile of a Woman in the Bargello (Fig. 10), signed by Mino da Fiesole.

Here we find the slight suggestion of fullness below the lower lid, a detail which we do not feel in the Boston bust, but which is suggested in the portrait busts of Mino da Fiesole, when he is depicting men of more mature years.

The nose is slightly aquiline. It is not the type of aggressive Roman nose seen in the profiles of the Caesars on the framework of Filarete's bronze doors in St. Peter's.¹ It is a slender, delicate type, which gives the effect of high breeding and social distinction; it is the type seen in the Madonnas of Mino da Fiesole (Figs. 14, 15), in the profile of the Young Girl in Berlin, and in the Shaw bust, with this difference, that the nose of our relief is a somewhat less delicate form, though it is not so robust as that of the Bishop Salutati or the Rinaldo della Luna. A marked emphasis on the bridge of the nose would have detracted from the decorative quality of our panel.

The lips, as we have already noticed, are slightly parted. The outer bounding line of the upper lip curves downward as it approaches the outer end, and its meeting with the cheek is marked by a slight projection of the flesh at the corner of the mouth. The lip itself seems a little shorter than it would be if closed, on account of the slight parting which tends to turn the centre upward a little. The lower lip is somewhat long, and there is an almost equal length given to the lip and the chin. There is no sharp division between lip and chin, such as is found when either one protrudes too much. There is the slight suggestion of a receding chin rather than the firm feature shown in the Caesar attributed to Desiderio (Fig. 13). This is just such a profile of lip and chin as is found in the Rinaldo della Luna and the Shaw bust of a Youth. Especially noteworthy are the downward curve of the bounding line of the upper lip, and the character of the outer corner. Many lips show a marking of the corners by a slight protruding of the flesh, but the treatment of the Shaw bust and the Shaw relief is identical, allowing for the difference in age of the two faces.

The same profile of lower lip and chin recurs in the Profile of a Woman in relief. This type of mouth and chin is found also in the San Giovannino. The slight recession rather than a protrusion of the chin is found in the Shaw bust of a Youth, and in the Rinaldo della Luna,—in Mino da Fiesole's treatment of chins generally. His chins all seem to lack in a perfect understanding

¹ Venturi, VI, p. 538.

of exact anatomical structure. The lips slightly parted are met with also in the Madonna and Child on the tomb of Count Ugo and in the San Giovannino.

The forehead slopes toward the hair with the suggestion of a division into a lower and upper plane, caused by a strong projection toward the ridge of the brow and by deep lines which mark the surface. An impression of thoughtfulness is thus created, though by a means not so effective as that used later by Michelangelo and known since then as the "bar of Michelangelo." The forehead seems to slope back too much, and the line of the nose and forehead taken together are not especially harmonious. The mind of the sculptor was evidently more concerned with the decorative value than with convincing portrayal. Similar considerations influenced the artist in the placing of the ear, which is inclined backward. The line of forehead and nose and the line of the ear are thus kept parallel, a relation which adds to their decorative value.

Similar sloping lines of brow and nose are seen in the Young Girl in Berlin and in the Profile of a Woman. In the Profile of a Woman parallel lines are suggested in the arrangement of the drapery in the hair, which repeats the line of the brow and nose.

The ear of the Shaw relief has a large opening, such as was usual in Mino's work, with a somewhat fleshy lobe and a careful modelling of the lines within the outer rim. Especially after this sculptor's manner is the modelling of the opening in that portion of the ear which is nearest the cheek.

The contour of the cheek and lower jaw is rather squarish, with the accent on the high cheek bones and the lower jaw toward the ear. The bony character is emphasized, and is made more noticeable by the hollowness of the cheek and the line about the base of the nose. The same manner of modelling the cheek is distinctly seen in the Rinaldo della Luna and in the Shaw bust of a Youth. In the neck the modelling is firm, with an accent on the larynx.

The treatment of the neck as one of the main elements of effect in giving a sense of high breeding and confident poise, as previously noted, is one of the distinctive mannerisms of Mino da Fiesole. It is found in his earliest reliefs, on the Pulpit at Prato where he was working in conjunction with Antonio Rossellino, and it reaches its climax in the panel relief of a Madonna and Child in the Bargello (Fig. 14), a work of his latest period.

It is also seen in the relief of the Woman in the Bargello. What is true of the works in relief where Mino da Fiesole was dealing with imaginative subjects, holds true also of similar works in the round; an example is the San Giovannino of the La Bardella Collection.

The same treatment of the neck is found in the portrait busts. Its most exaggerated expression is in the portrait of a Young



FIGURE 14.—MADONNA BY MINO DA FIESOLE: BARGELLO.

Girl in the Royal Museum in Berlin. It adds to the sense of detachment and distinction in the Rinaldo della Luna and the Shaw bust of a Youth. In every case the treatment of the neck is kept simple, with a clear cut line marking its profile. The line of the neck in the back as seen in profile is of the same character in the Shaw relief, in the relief of a Woman in the Bargello, in the Rinaldo della Luna, and in the Shaw bust. Especially is this true if we think of the drapery of the neck as being at the same relative place in the case of each.

The same accent on the larynx appears in the Shaw relief and in the Rinaldo della Luna; it is also found in the Aurelius Caesar where we should not expect it, where in fact it contradicts his youth and has only decorative value. The modelling of the neck in the Shaw relief is kept in simple planes. This is also a characteristic of Mino da Fiesole, as is evidenced in all his works which we have cited.

5. *The Costume*

The military costume worn by the emperor in our relief has the cloak draped about the back and carried toward the front



FIGURE 15.—MADONNA BY MINO DA FIESOLE: BARGELLO.

just under the sleeve of the cuirass. The costume as a whole, including the sleeve, is thought out on the basis of its decorative qualities. The material fills the lower portion of the panel, everywhere touching the sides and the base, but at no place extending beyond the outer line of the frame. The outline which bounds the whole is sharp and angular. The fullness of the cloak

is arranged in flat folds, whose edges turn sharply. The plaits of the sleeve are more suggestive of flat bands than of plaits, and are arranged to suit the decorative design.

The filling of the lower portion of the panel from side to side is characteristic of Mino da Fiesole. We see it in the tondo of the Madonna on the Count Ugo tomb and in the two Madonna reliefs in the Bargello (Figs. 14, 15). The material touches the lower portion of the bounding frame, and the outline is sharp and angular rather than curving. Even when the enclosing frame is in tondo form, as in the relief of the Madonna on the Count Ugo tomb, and in the tondo in the Bargello (Fig. 15), the outline suggests not curves but angles. The fullness of the material in the Madonna reliefs is arranged in bands or plaits which lie flat as if pressed.

This sharp angularity and suggestion of bands is also a mannerism of Mino, seen in the treatment of the costume in all his authentic works. This becomes clear by contrast if we compare the treatment of the fullness in the Shaw relief with the arrangement of the fullness of the drapery in the Marcus Aurelius of Agostino di Duccio in the Bargello (Fig. 16). In the latter the suggestion throughout is of rhythmic curves. Both compositions are artificially arranged, with decorative quality the first consideration. If, again, we compare the drapery in the Caesar attributed to Desiderio (Fig. 13), we are even more strongly impressed by the difference in treatment between the realistic arrangement in this work and the decorative arrangement of the Shaw relief.

The arrangement of the cloak relates itself to that of the Giovanni dei Medici (Fig. 5), who is also in military costume. The sleeves in both are of the plaited type, and in treatment manifest a close relationship, although one is on a bust in the round and the other has its lines arranged for decorative effect. The form of the plaits is the same, and the outer edge is very



FIGURE 16.—MARCUS AURELIUS BY AGOSTINO DI DUCCIO: BARGELLO.

similar. The fringe is treated in the same manner. There is a variation in the decorative motive in the centre of the plaits.

In the Early Renaissance there was no established rule or exact requirement in the treatment of military dress. The same freedom of individual interpretation of classic motives was to be expected in the use of Roman costume and ornament as was employed in architectural details. When keener interest in the ruins and monuments of Rome was aroused, and scientific study began to establish a new point of view, the columns of Marcus Aurelius and of Trajan became an ever fertile source of exact knowledge. There is a convincing classic accuracy about the soldier's uniform in such works as Mantegna's painting of the Triumph of Caesar, which appeared about 1486, and in the work of sculptors towards the end of the century, where the influence of the study of antique bas-reliefs is evident. Our relief has no relationship with these.

In the relief of a Woman attributed to Mino da Fiesole (Fig. 10) a close correspondence is evident. If we follow the outline of the drapery from the back of the neck to the frame and down the side, then from the front of the neck to the edge of the frame, and turn from it to the outline of the Shaw relief, we are again impressed by the obvious similarity. The sharply turned folds and the band effect are equally related. In both cases the decorative treatment is uppermost in the sculptor's thought, and he is guided by the same underlying feeling for outline and angular folds, but in execution he shows his mastery of his motive by those slight variations which tend to establish identity of authorship, not imitation.

The relation between the relief of a Woman, the Aurelius Caesar, and the Shaw relief of a Roman emperor is difficult to explain unless we assume that they belong to the same school and attribute them to the same artist. In the treatment of the hair the same "macaroni" strand is used in all three. In the relief of the Woman the rhythmic curving of the strands which lie over the ear, as they spread out from the central fastening, recalls the strands seen radiating on the back of the heads of the Rinaldo della Luna and the Shaw bust of a Youth (Fig. 9). The strands are a trifle more slender and delicate and a little shorter, in the Aurelius Caesar, who is much younger than the emperor in our relief; the hair of the two should show just this difference.

The radiation from a common centre in the reliefs is the same, and in each case the centre is not high on the crown, as in the Rinaldo della Luna and the Shaw bust, but is placed lower, apparently for decorative reasons. The hair falls upon the neck in the same way, and keeps to the same outline at the lower edge of the compact curling mass. There is also the same carrying down of the curving strands on the temple in the Aurelius Caesar and in the Shaw relief, with a slightly more youthful expression in the Aurelius Caesar. The hair in the Shaw relief is curled back on the forehead, to show a lofty, thoughtful brow. This is not so fitting in the younger Aurelius, and so the hair is brought forward over the brow. Since the strands are shorter and slenderer, they are arranged a little more freely on the head, but in both the reliefs the contour of the head is not obscured. One strand in each of these reliefs frees itself from the mass at the back and turns outward, balancing the short fluttering ribbons.

The wreath is arranged in a markedly similar fashion, not lying upon the hair, but sinking into it here and there. The arrangement of the leaves in pairs is the same, but they are spaced on the twig a trifle more widely in the Aurelius Caesar. The short bow and ribbons are treated in the same manner, with the emphasis on the decorative character and with the lines practically identical. The wreath in both cases extends upward on the edge of the frame.

The modelling of the ear is identical, with the exception of the top. Especially noteworthy is the modelling of the outline of the opening toward the cheek. The angle at which the ear is set is different because of the difference in the profile of the face. In the Shaw relief the ear parallels the line of the brow and nose. In the Aurelius Caesar the ear parallels the projection of the hair over the brow, which lessens the sloping effect of brow and nose. The projection of the brow, the treatment of brow and eye, the modelling of the lips, especially the outer corner, the long lower lip, the rounding profile of the chin, and the profile of the neck, both in the back and in the front, with the enlarged larynx, all indicate relationship. The arrangement of the drapery is almost identical in its outline, and in the angularity with which the fullness is disposed. The slight variations serve to emphasize the general correspondence, which seems to establish beyond doubt that this also cannot be correctly attributed to any other than Mino.

The feeling underlying the whole treatment of the Shaw relief is that which is at the basis of all Mino da Fiesole's works. They may be lacking in depth of meaning and inspiration, and we may not find the soul beneath the surface. They may involve faults in technique, but these very faults give a certain freshness and naïve charm which perfect technique often fails to do. This distinctive style in no small degree is dependent on Mino's fine sense for composition and a strong feeling for high breeding and social distinction, resulting in a characteristic air of detachment. These qualities are emphasized by a certain simplicity and coolness in the modelling which set Mino apart from his fellow sculptors. Contrasting with these qualities of feeling and technique is a certain caressing tenderness given to the marble itself, which makes the surfaces abstractly beautiful rather than warm and vital.

Our detailed study of the relief of a Roman emperor leads us, as in the case of the bust of the Youth, to the conclusion that its author can have been none other than Mino da Fiesole, and that it belongs with the profile of a Woman in relief and the Aurelius Caesar as an integral part of his work.

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THE ALLEGORICAL SIEGE IN THE ART OF THE
MIDDLE AGES

[PLATE IV]

WHEN the mediaeval penchant for allegorizing, which had so potent an influence upon religious thought, ceremonial, and art, came into contact during the twelfth century with the frank paganism of *l'amour courtois*, it found a fresh field for the imaginative impulse. Venus and Cupid were ready to hand as the chief personages of the allegory, not represented as the baneful influences of the schoolmen, but depicted as powers adorable and to be adored, and set in a background of May morning or splendid palace. Wars were waged for and against love. It was not long, we may be sure, before the siege of a lady's heart was imagined in terms of the siege of a castle.

The first evidence we have for this is the full-fledged Siege of the Castle of Love acted out as part of a festival at Treviso in 1214. Rolandino of Padua relates that to this Court of Solace and Mirth were invited many gentlemen and twelve of the fairest and gayest ladies of Padua.¹ "A fantastic castle was built and garrisoned with dames and damsels and their waiting women, who without help of man defended it with all possible prudence. Now this castle was fortified on all sides with skins of vair and sable, sendals, purple cloths, samites, precious tissues, scarlet, brocade of Bagdad, and ermine. What shall I say of the golden coronets, studded with chrysolites and jacinths, topaz and emeralds, pearls and pointed headgear and all manner of adornments wherewith the ladies defended their heads from the assaults of the beleaguers? For the castle itself must needs be assaulted; and the arms and engines wherewith men fought against it were apples and dates and muscat-nuts, tarts and pears and quinces, roses and lilies and violets, and vases of balsam or ambergris or

¹ G. G. Coulton, *Medieval Garner*, p. 268.

rosewater, amber, camphor, cardamoms, cinnamon, cloves, pomegranates, and all manner of flowers or spices that are fragrant to smell or fair to see."

At this siege a band of Venetian youths were among the guests and formed the storming party.¹ After a vain assault of comfits and sweetmeats, they resorted to the cynical expedient of a shower of golden ducats. Upon this the castle promptly capitulated, and the banner of St. Mark entered it in triumph. Whether the Paduan youths resented this as a reflection upon their ladies or not, they flung themselves upon the Venetians and tore up their banner, and a fray ensued which led to war between Venice and Padua.

Similar festivals were popular at the court of Henry VIII of England. At the marriage of Prince Arthur in 1501 a castle was drawn into the hall, filled with eight ladies and children singing. After a parley certain knights of the Mount of Love besiege the castle until it yields.² On New Year's night, 1512, a castle, occupied by six ladies and labeled *La Fortresse dangerous*, was carried about the hall. "After the quene had behelde it, in came the kyng with fve other. . . . These VI. assaulted the castle, the ladies seyng them so lustie and coragious, were content to solace with them and upon further communication, to yeld the castle, and so thei came doune and daunced a long space."³ In 1522 Wolsey gave a similar pageant, where the castle was held by the ladies Beautie, Honor, Perseveraunce, and other noble qualities who occupied the towers, and by Dangier, Gelousie, Scorne, and other shrewish qualities who occupied the lower walls of the fortress. Ardent Desire led seven other gentlemen to an attack with comfits and was victorious, driving the shrews away. After this a dance followed.⁴

In a Christmas festival at Eltham in 1515, however, the conflict took a different turn, the ladies holding out successfully.⁵ Again in 1581 the Virgin Queen seems to have delicately allegorized her refusal of the offers of the Duke of Anjou by a similar play. Four Children of Desire, one of whom was Sir Philip Sidney, laid claim to the Castle of Perfect Beauty, wherein the

¹ P. Molmenti, *Venice: The Middle Ages*, I, p. 204.

² *Modern Philology*, XIV, p. 473.

³ Brotanek, *Die Englischen Maskenspiele*, p. 27.

⁴ *Modern Philology*, XIV, p. 473.

⁵ Brotanek, *Op. cit.*, p. 28.



FIGURE 1.—SIEGE OF THE CASTLE OF LOVE: IVORY CASKET: VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

Queen sat, as their inheritance. Being defied they showered it with rosewater and flowers. On the next day, they confessed their audacity and yielded them to "Perfect Beauty."¹

It is a curious example of the survival of popular custom that three hundred years later the young people of the Swiss cantons of Vaud and Fribourg used to sing in the vineyards:

*"Château d'amour, te veux-tu pas rendre?
Veux-tu te rendre, ou tenir bon?"*

In Fribourg itself there survived into the eighteenth century an almost exact parallel to the Treviso festival, including wooden castle, ladies within, gallants without, and a discharge of flowery

artillery. The castle was fated, of course, to surrender; each of the ladies chose one of the besiegers, and paid him a rose and a kiss as ransom. Afterwards there was a parade of the besiegers on horseback through the town, while the ladies showered them in turn from the windows with rose-petals and perfumes.²

All the stages in this elaborate mediaeval game were represented on the ivory mirror-cases and caskets made probably in



FIGURE 2.—SURRENDER OF THE CASTLE OF LOVE: VICTORIA AND ALBERT MUSEUM.

Paris in the early fourteenth century.³ We see the walls and turrets of the castle thronged with ladies hurling roses down from the battlements (Fig. 1): among them is Daun Cupido, with his wings and crown, shooting his fatal arrows. Below knights use the ponderous mediaeval siege engines to throw up baskets of flowers. Others scale the walls on rope ladders, doubtless a more efficacious way of bringing matters to the desired termination. Then we see the surrender of the castle. On the one hand,

¹ *Ibid.*

² *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France*, I, p. 184 ff.

³ There are any number of these ivories scattered over the museums of Europe and a few have reached the United States.

we see the ladies welcoming the successful knights and delivering up a sword in token of surrender (Fig. 2); on the other, a lady issuing from the gateway and delivering up a key to a humble victor. Finally, each lady rides away with her lover on horseback or is rowed away in a boat¹ (Fig. 3). A rare example from the second half of the fourteenth century depicts ladies making a sally from the gateway, one of them carrying a bouquet instead of a lance in rest. On the casket lids the middle panel is usually occupied by a jousting scene, without any immediate relation to the Siege of the Castle.

The same subject occurs here and there among the illuminations of English manuscripts. One remembers the stanza of Byron about the family missal, and his wonder



FIGURE 3.—DEPARTURE FROM THE CASTLE OF LOVE: LIVERPOOL.

“how they

Who saw those figures on the margin kiss all,
Could turn their optics to the text and pray.”

So in the margins of the *Peterborough Psalter*² of the end of the thirteenth century and of the *Lutterell Psalter* of about 1340 one finds spirited renderings of the *Château d'Amour* that must have diverted the thoughts of many a worldly reader from his devotions, if indeed they were not put there for that very purpose. And in these two instances the assailants seem to be getting very much the worst of it. In the first, the knights flop into outlandish contortions at the very touch (Fig. 4) of the ladies, and in the second (Fig. 5), the impact of a single flower knocks a knight's helmet off and hurls him from his scaling-ladder. No wonder that the mounted knights depicted in a manuscript of the *De Officiis Regum* (Fig. 6) spread their hands abroad in dis-

¹ This has been wrongly interpreted as Lancelot and Guinevere.

² J. Van den Gheyn, *Le Psautier de Peterborough*.

may when they perceive through their lifted visors the four bellicose females in the castle.¹

The inventories of the fourteenth century show the motif spreading into other arts. The inventory of Louis Duke of Anjou made in 1364-5 describes a great fountain of metal work

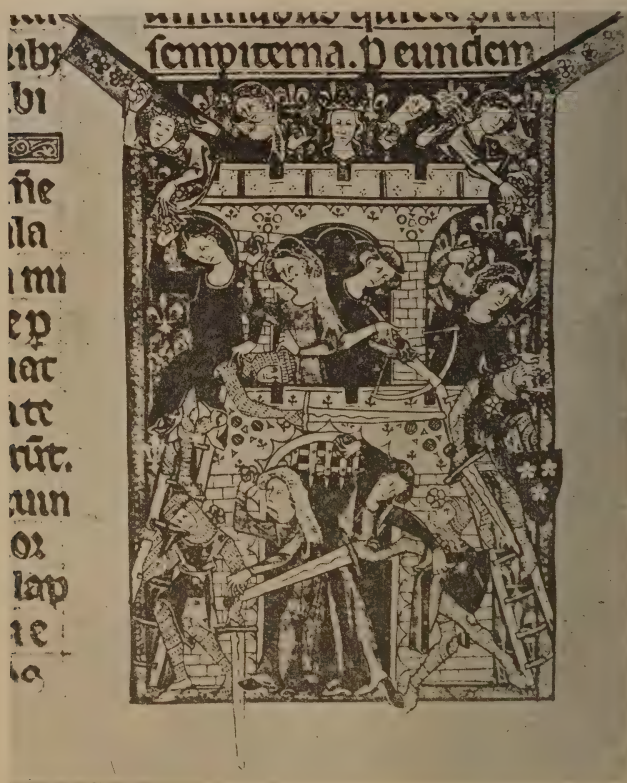


FIGURE 4.—THE CASTLE OF LOVE: PETERBOROUGH PSALTER, BRUSSELS.

for the table. "Twelve little men bear it on their shoulders, and on the foot are six knights who assail the castle. . . . In the middle is a castle in the fashion of a large tower with many turrets and the said castle stands upon a high green hill; and over the three gateways are three trumpets. And below outside, the said hill has battlemented barbicans, and above on the battle-

¹ *Treatise of Walter de Millemete*, ed. M. R. James.



THE CASTLE OF LADIES: TAPESTRY OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

ments of the castle are ladies, who hold maces and shields and defend the castle."¹

Edward III, we know, had this same subject on a dorser.² The inventory of the Duke of Gloucester, made in 1397, records: "Un pece d'aras de l'estorie d'un assaut fait as dames en un chastel."³ That of Margaret of Flanders, made in 1405: "Un vies drap de haulteliche deschiré des damoiselles qui defendent le chastel."⁴ Henry VIII of England had a set of



FIGURE 5.—THE CASTLE OF LOVE: LUTTRELL PSALTER, BRITISH MUSEUM.

tapestries of the Citie of Ladies,⁵ and James V of Scotland a set called "the Citie of Dammys."⁶ What these sixteenth century tapestries were like may perhaps be gleaned from one here reproduced from Guiffrey's *Histoire Générale de la Tapisserie*, III (PLATE IV). In the foreground are the forces of violence, armed with halberds and spears. Malchaisne advances from the left,

¹ Marquis de Laborde, *Notice des Émaux*, II, p. 36. For date of catalogue, see *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes*, L. p. 168.

² Mary Bateson, *Mediaeval England*, p. 295.

³ *Archaeological Journal*, LIV, p. 288.

⁴ *Jb. Kunst. Samm.*, XVI, p. 219.

⁵ W. G. Thomson, *Tapestry Weaving in England*, pp. 40 f.

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 41.

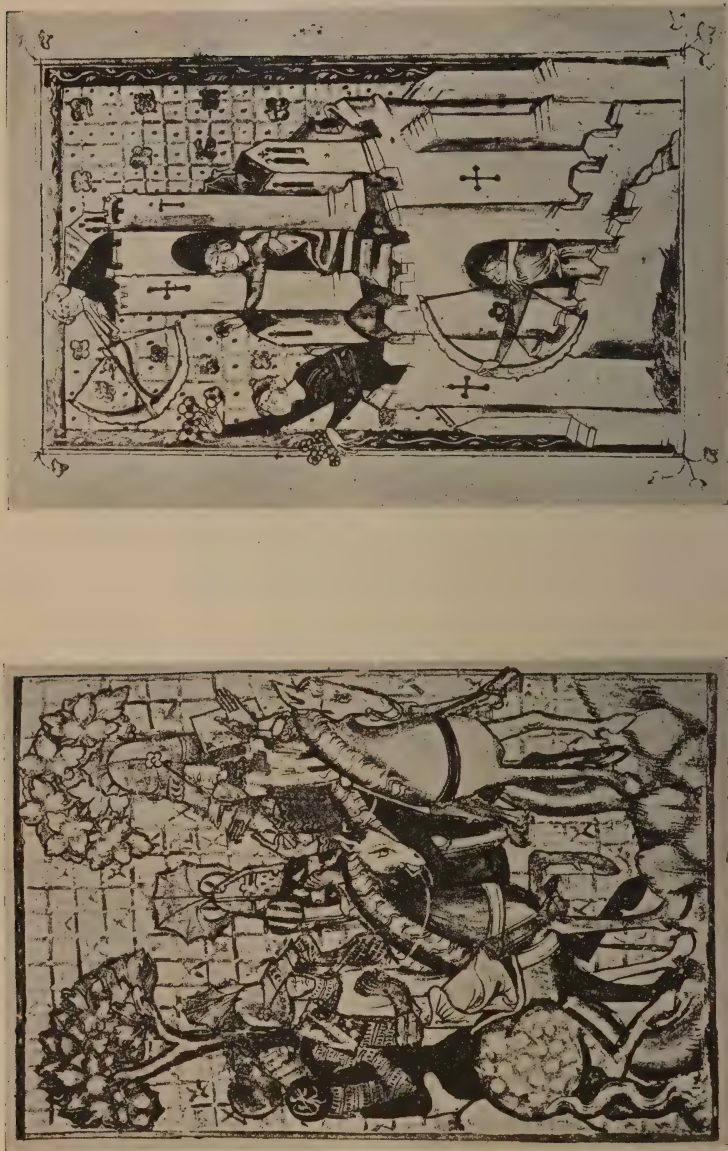


FIGURE 6.—THE CASTLE OF LOVE: DE OFFICIIS REGUM, CHRIST CHURCH COLLEGE, OXFORD.

Vilayn Visage from the right. In the midst Vilonie moves to the attack covered by his shield, Faultedesens lies on the ground, while Dangier threatens to fall on top of him. On the battlements above are the ladies, Perseverance, Beauté, Largesse, and Espoir. Franchise fires a rose from a crossbow at Dangier, and Plaisance threatens him with a lash of flowers. Above on each



FIGURE 7.—ATTACK ON THE CASTLE OF THE CHURCH BY THE WORLD.

side a cupid with his bow appears in a tree, while in the middle Le Gent Deus D'Amour is crowned with a wreath by Obedience and another lady, whose name and quality I cannot decipher.

The motif also spread into Teutonic lands. A mural painting of the fourteenth century from the palace of Otto von Rinecke is preserved in the Rosgarten Museum at Constance.¹ A piece

¹H. Schweitzer, *Bilderteppiche und Stickereien zu Freiburg in Breisgau* (extr. from *Schauinsland*, XXXI), p. 5. There is another mural painting at Diessenhofen, dating about 1310-20, that may represent the same subject, though the distinctive details are lost; see *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich*, XXIV, p. 282, pl. VIII F.



FIGURE 8.—THE TENT OF VENUS AND THE CASTLE OF THE VIRTUES: TAPESTRY: NUREMBERG.

of stained glass of the early sixteenth century at the Frankfort Historical Museum shows the castle held by two maidens and stormed by three wild folk or wodehouses.¹

This is the last example I have noted where the significance of the allegory is wholly secular. But the mediaeval church always had a canny instinct for appropriating to its uses any popular image or custom or book, even when it was immoral or anticlerical in its original character. Out of Arthurian romance was developed the Grail story; Ovid's *chronique scandaleuse* of the gods was allegorized into a Christian *livre de piété*; all the favorite secular motifs of art were given an edifying interpretation in the *Cy Nous Dit*. An ecclesiastical version of the Siege motif is found on a casket of the early fourteenth century.² Here the castle is surmounted by a church, and the battlements are held by

by nuns (Fig. 7). They hurl down white pellets on the powers of the world represented by six gaily clad youths mounting upon ladders to the assault. An interesting development of this relig-

¹ Von der Leyen and Spamer, *Altdeutsche Teppiche im Regensburger Rathaus*, p. 29.

² Hefner-Altenneck, *Trachten und Gerätschafte*, III, pl. 156.

ious treatment of the theme is to be found in the city of Ratisbon. The Historical Society has copies of a mural painting of about 1300 formerly at the Elephanten Apotheke.¹ On the one side are five pairs of lovers: then comes the tower itself, on which is a queen with a knight in her lap. On the other side are nine knights attacking a baldaquin, in which another queen sits with four attendants at a banqueting table. One of these knights bears on his shield the device of a saint or Christus. It becomes clear then that these knights are representative of the Virtues and that the castle as well as the baldaquin are the abodes of the fleshly Vices. In a tapestry of the end of the fourteenth century in the Germanic Museum, Nuremberg, (Fig. 8) the baldaquin has become a pavilion, and the Queen and her attendants are still there.² The queen we may now venture to identify as Frau Minne or the Venus of old German legends,³ but in what a guise! Like the other wild folk she wears a sort of pajamas with a wave pattern intended to depict a coat of hair. This extraordinary costume was doubtless suggested to the designer by the fashion prevalent throughout Europe in this century of masquerading as wild men of the woods.⁴ Some will remem-

¹ *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*, VII, p. 191.

² T. Hampe, *Katalog der Gewebesammlung des Germanischen Nationalmuseums*, I, No. 669. Practically identical tapestries are to be found at the Wartburg, *Mitteilungen der Kaiserliche Königliche Centralcommission*, XVII, p. 44, and at the Vienna Museum, *Mittheilungen des K. K. Oesterreichischen Museums*, 1892, p. 105.

³ Lady Venus in her tent appears in a few German poems: *Frau Venus und die Minnenden*, *Ain Mynn Red von Herten und von Leib*, *Die Minne und die Ehre*, and *Der Ellende Knabe*. See W. A. Neilson, *Origins and Sources of the Court of Love*, pp. 128, 129, 131, and von der Hagen, *Bildersaal Altleutchen Dichter*, p. 89.

⁴ Prof. Kenneth Mackenzie has called my attention to an article entitled 'La Maschera del Selvaggio' in the *Giornale Storico della Letteratura Italiana*, LIX, p. 47, which contains very full references. There is an excellent treatment of the wodehouse in English decorative art in an article by G. C. Druce in the *Archaeological Journal*, LXXII, 159 ff. On the very large number of German wodehouse tapestries there are, besides the articles cited p. 264, note 2 and note 2 above, the following: Destrée and Van den Ven, *Tapisseries*, p. 21; F. A. Lehner, *Hohenzollernsches Museum zu Sigmaringen, Textilarbeiten*, Nos. 2, 4, 6; G. Lehnert, *Illustrierte Geschichte des Kunstgewerbes*, I, p. 346; *Jb. Kunsth. Samm.* XIV, 283; XV, 290; *Mittheilungen des K. K. Oesterreichischen Museums*, N. F. 7, 8; J. Guiffrey, *Tapisseries*, p. 65. An interlude consisting of a Castle of Love guarded by lions and wodehouses is mentioned in the accounts of the Treasurer of Savoy; see Cougnet, *Piaceri della Tavola*, p. 193.

ber the *Ballet des Ardents* in Froissart, where Charles VI of France and some of his nobles put on garments of flax and pitch to resemble coats of hair, and were accidentally set alight by a torch. In this tapestry Frau Minne, instead of being attacked by the Virtues as in the painting, is here sending out her own wild servants, against a moated castle intended for the abode of the Virtues, though by some confusion on the part of the artist, the Virtues are just as wild and hairy as their enemies. Both sides preserve the old tradition of the floral weapons, the attackers tipping their spears and arrows with roses, and the defenders replying with lilies. That the assailants are meant to represent the Vices becomes evident when we see that the monsters they ride resemble those on which the symbolic figures of the Vices are mounted in a tapestry at Ratisbon town hall.¹ Furthermore, this last tapestry shows at each end the allegorical Siege of a Castle. (Fig. 9) In the end here illustrated the four cardinal Virtues are beating off with spears, swords, and arrows the corresponding Vices, while in the other end the theological Virtues hold the fort.

A phase of this moralistic development of the Siege is found in the English morality play of about 1425, *The Castle of Perseverance*.² A plan that accompanies the original MS. shows us the castle in the centre with the bed of Mankind under it, and a ditch of water encircling it (Fig. 10). Above to the south is the scaffold of Caro, the Flesh; to the right that of Mundus, the World; below to the north is that of Belyal; to the northeast that of Coveitise, Covetousness; to the left that of Deus, God. In the course of the play, the castle is attacked by the Seven Deadly Sins and defended by the Seven Virtues, and as the speeches indicate, Charity and Patience hurl roses with great effect. "I am all beaten black and blue with a rose that on rood was rent," exclaims Wrath.

It was of course inevitable that a theme so popular in the dramatic and plastic arts should have left its traces in literature, and such is indeed the fact. It should be said at the outset, however, since the statement is frequently made that the Siege of the Castle of Love in art is an illustration of the *Romaunt of*

¹ Von der Leyen and Spamer, *op. cit.*, pp. 41, 46. An excellent article on the 'Tapestries of the Seven Deadly Sins' is found in the *Burl. Mag.* XX, pp. 210, 277.

² *The Macro Plays*, ed. Furnivall and Pollard.

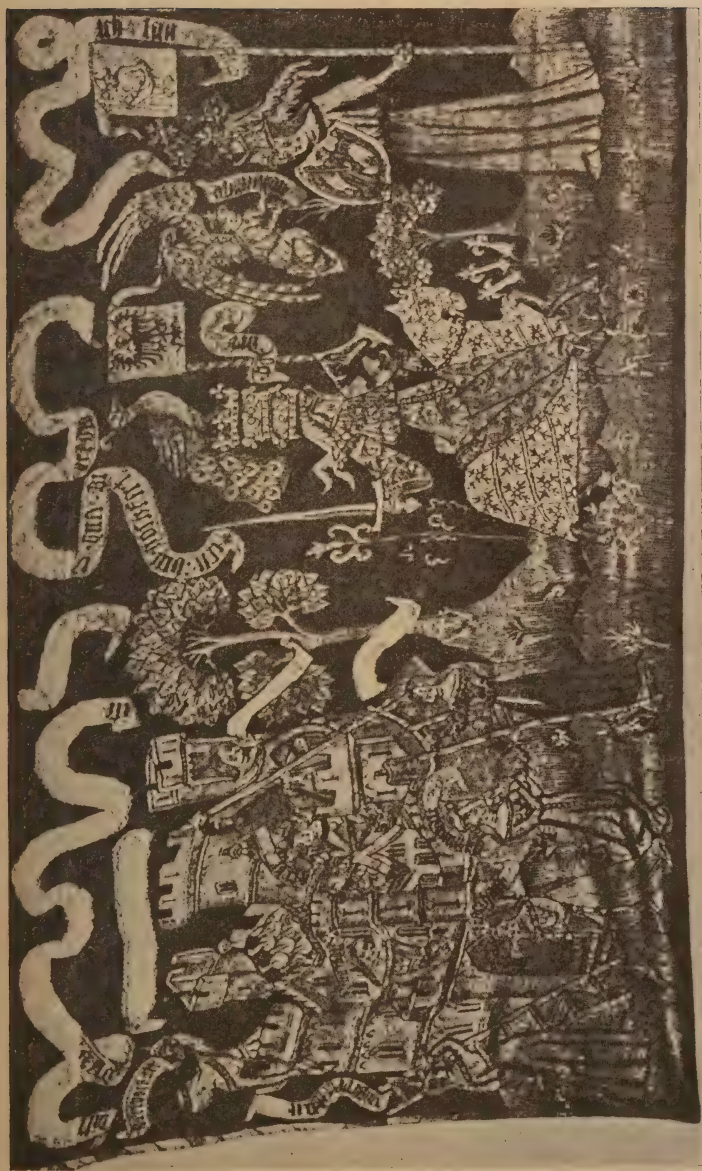


FIGURE 9.—THE CASTLE OF THE VIRTUES: TAPESTRY: TOWN HALL, RATISBON.

the Rose, that there is no scene in the poem at all corresponding to that figured on mirror-cases and caskets, or painted in manuscripts or on palace walls. Furthermore, there is no siege described

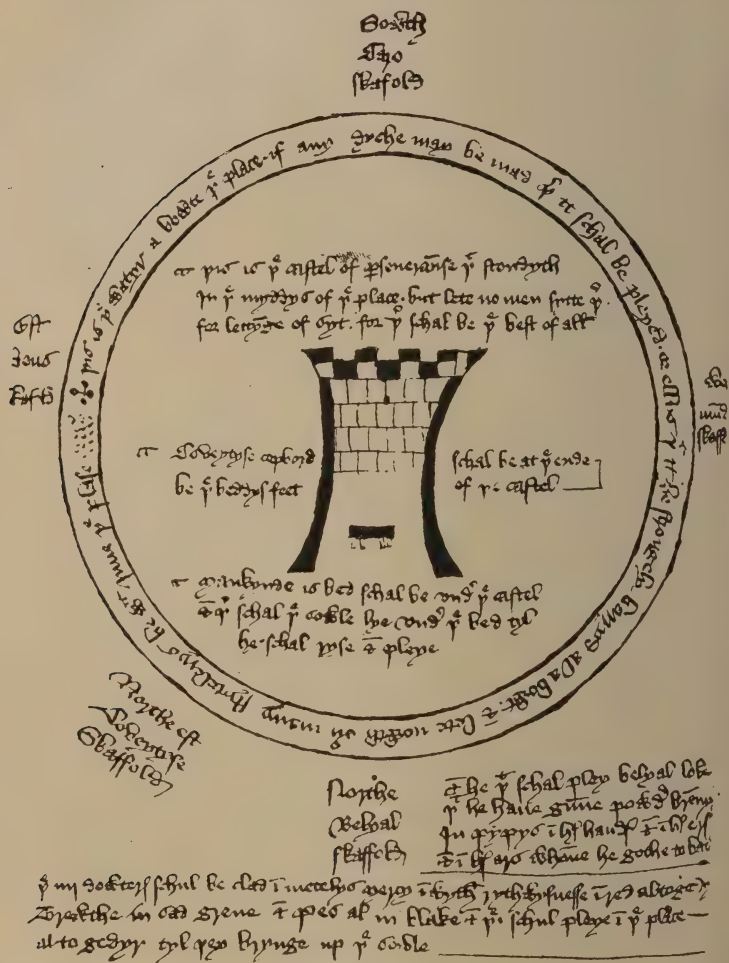


FIGURE 10.—STAGE DIAGRAM FOR "THE CASTLE OF PERSEVERANCE."

in Grosseteste's spiritual allegory of the *Château d'Amour*. The clearest case of an attack upon a castle of love is that found in the fourth chapter of the German poem, *Die Minneburg*, of about 1325-50.¹ A child is incited by Cupido to attack a castle

¹ W. A. Neilson, *op. cit.* p. 124.

guarded by giants, lions, and dogs. With the aid of Unmasse, Unsittigkeit, and Unbesonnenheit he does so, while resistance is offered by Masse, Stärke, and Weisheit. Finally, a parley is held: Weisheit induces the Child to come to terms with the lady of the castle: he is allowed to enter and thus wins not only the castle but also the heart of the lady. In the *Champion des Dames* of Martin le Franc, dated about 1442, there is an attack on a Castle of Love, but the castle is here no castle but a temple with altars and priests, and the fighting consists of a plentiful discharge of words regarding the virtues and vices of women. Franc Vouloir, the Champion of Dames, is victorious in the debate, and Malbouche, their maligner, dies of chagrin.¹

Our own day is witnessing a revival of pageant and spectacle, and among the devices that we might take over from our frolicsome and sentimental forefathers the Siege of the Castle of Love might well be one. To be sure, there are feminists who would think it scorn to fight a defensive warfare and would prefer to go capturing castles of timid males themselves. And what with Battalions of Death and Women's Army Auxiliary Corps undergoing the hardships of warfare, the ladies may acquire a muscular development that will deprive their throwing of that grace in awkwardness, that piquant stiffness that must have constituted half the charm of the pastime for the masculine participators. Still the thing might well be tried.

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¹ *Ibid.* p. 102.

AN ARCHAIC GREEK STATUE

THIS extraordinary statue (Figs. 1, 2) in the Metropolitan Museum in New York is one of the most interesting and important specimens that we possess of archaic Greek female statues.¹ Although, as will be shown, it is earlier than most monuments of its class, yet it is extremely charming in its severe simplicity; and the striking arrangement of the drapery, so different from the usual style, betrays the masterly hand of a bold, ingenious artist. It is also unique among the figures of its type in possessing in the place of its original head a genuinely antique restoration which, as the style indicates, is less than a hundred years later than the body. Remaining traces show that the original hair hung down the back in the standard archaic fashion.

The statue was probably found near Laurium.² It is small, being but 0.698 m. (2 ft. 3¼ in.) in height. Only the feet, small portions of the arms, and the tip of the nose are missing. When discovered the head and the left arm were broken off and the body was in two parts. All of the portions are weathered identically.

Standing with legs close together, the young woman carries a rabbit in the extended left arm and in the right, which is bent across the body, a pomegranate (Figs. 1, A, B). She wears only a belted Ionic chiton fastened together over the shoulders and arms by brooches, and drawn up so as to fall over each hip in a curved *kolpos* (Figs. 1 A, 2 A). The skirt is drawn tightly forward and raised at the left of the front (Fig. 1 A). The waist is characterized by fine undulating ridges and the folds of the skirt are indicated by deep grooves. The entire back is smooth (Fig. 2 B). The broad, massive shoulders and the narrow hips

¹ I wish to acknowledge with thanks the kindness of Miss Gisela M. A. Richter in giving permission to publish this statue and in offering many useful suggestions.

² See *B. Metr. Mus.* III, 1908, pp. 2-4, and Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection in the Metropolitan Museum*, pp. 210 f, fig. 124.



A



B

FIGURE 1.—STATUE IN NEW YORK: A, FRONT; B, LEFT SIDE.

are such as early archaic sculptors regularly gave to women as well as to men. The hair is tied in a kerchief both in front and back, while on the top of the head it was doubtless indicated by paint. If there was any jewelry it was also painted and has disappeared.¹

Considering the body first, a comparison with the Acropolis figures, from which it radically differs in many essential details, is most interesting. The position of the right arm made fast against the body strongly suggests an early date. None of the Acropolis figures which are late enough to wear the Ionic chiton presents this feature.²

Another indication of early date is the position of the legs. The only figure on the Acropolis that stands like this with the feet evenly together is No. 602, one of the earliest of the group.³ Usually archaic statues have the left foot slightly advanced as was the fashion in Egypt, whence the motive was borrowed.⁴

Apparently the early statue, No. 602, is also the only one on the Acropolis with the back entirely smooth.⁵ But even here the drapery falls between the legs so as to outline them clearly, while on the Metropolitan statue it is drawn perfectly smooth, a feature which may be regarded as a heritage from the old xoanon type.⁶

Only three of the standing figures on the Acropolis, Nos. 602, 670, and 683, and the seated Athena, No. 625, are clad in the Ionic chiton alone.⁷ Although this style of dress does not of necessity signify an early date, it certainly does not suggest a late one. The simple, severe lines, free from all elaborate drapery, did not entail such a radical departure from the primitive xoanon type or from the nude male figure which sculptors had long been making. The Attic figure, No. 602, we have seen is

¹ Cf. Lechat, *Au Musée de l'Acropole*, pp. 211 ff.

² The statues generally attributed to a Samian school belong in a distinct class and are not included in this paper in references to the rest of the group.

³ Cf. Schrader, *Archaische Marmorskulpturen im Akropolis Museum zu Athen*, p. 42, fig. 39, and G. Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*.

⁴ Three of the Acropolis figures have the right foot advanced. See Lechat, *op. cit.* p. 167, and Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 42.

⁵ Cf. Overbeck, *Geschichte der griech. Plastik*, p. 190; Klein, *Geschichte der griech. Plastik*, p. 277; Schrader, *op. cit.* p. 42, fig. 36. No. 629 (*op. cit.* fig. 28) has no folds in the back of the chiton, but the himation is worked out in detail.

⁶ Cf. Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*, VIII, p. 149, fig. 83.

⁷ Cf. Lechat, *op. cit.* p. 158.



A



B

FIGURE 2.—STATUE IN NEW YORK: A, RIGHT SIDE; B, BACK.

early, No. 683 is of careless workmanship,¹ and No. 670 is not one of the latest specimens.²

It is further noticeable that there is no sign that the Metropolitan statue ever had ringlets such as almost always fell over the shoulders of archaic female figures,³ and that the original hair that fell down the back was exceptionally short. These features too may indicate antiquity. Nos. 683 and 612 on the Acropolis have no ringlets over the shoulders, but both are carelessly done. The only well advanced, carefully executed specimen without them is No. 627.⁴ The Acropolis figures also have much longer hair than this statue had. It is interesting to observe that on the Cnidian Treasury the hair of none of the figures is extremely long. But the absence of ringlets and the unusually short hair recall, more than anything else, the early "Apollos." It is also worth while to note that women on vase paintings rarely had ringlets over the shoulders before the middle of the sixth century.⁵

But much more striking than any other characteristic is the arrangement of the skirt. As is well known, the folds of the skirt are usually raised at the side by the left hand, while the extended right arm, holding its offering and supporting the long folds of the himation, preserves the balance of the figure. Two statues reverse this scheme,⁶ while a few, on which the hand or the belt holds the folds of the skirt slightly raised in the middle of the front, need no balancing motive and, therefore, wear the chiton either alone or beneath a shawl thrown evenly over both shoulders.⁷

¹ Cf. Lechat, *La Sculpture Attique*, p. 232.

² Cf. Lechat, *Au Musée*, pp. 300 f.

³ All traces of such ringlets could scarcely have been effaced even if they were made separately and attached, as was frequently done in the case of archaic female figures not only with ringlets but with heads, arms, ends of drapery, and even feet and legs. Cf. Lechat, *Au Musée*, pp. 227 ff; *La Sculpture Attique*, p. 228, note 7; Dickins, *Acrop. Mus.*, p. 38, note 1.

⁴ Cf. Lechat, *Au Musée*, p. 197; Dickins, *op. cit.* p. 144.

⁵ Cf. *Jh. Oest. Arch. I.* XII, pp. 300 f, and references.

⁶ Cf. Lechat, *Au Musée*, p. 154.

⁷ Cf. Lechat, *Au Musée*, p. 170. The apparel worn by most of the Acropolis figures is assumed in this paper to consist of a long chiton reaching to the feet, and a short himation thrown over the shoulders. Controversy over the subject seems not to have ended. Cf. *Jb. Arch. I.* VII, 1892, pp. 55 f; Overbeck, *Gesch. griech. Plastik*, pp. 189 f; *Jb. Arch. I.* XI, 1896, pp. 19 ff; Lechat, *Au Musée*, pp. 151 ff; *Jb. Arch. I.* XIX, 1904, pp. 10 ff; Lermann, *Allgriechische*

With the statue in question a problem arises. If the present motive of the skirt was the original one, it is a most curious and interesting specimen which has no published parallel either in marble, bronze, or terracotta. Its absence from the last group would prove that it was never widely diffused.

But a more probable alternative presents itself. On the left side of the statue (Fig. 1B) a portion extending up and back from the front edge of the *kolpos* and bounded below by a ridge which follows the line of the back of the arm and ends at the curious projection just below the *kolpos* is strangely hollowed out. This gives rise at once to the suspicion that the original left arm rested on the body and held the folds of the skirt, that it was broken away at the time that the head was lost, and that the injured portion was reworked into its present form by the sculptor who made the new head and arm.¹ In such case, the drapery would be a most extraordinary illustration of a perfectly natural transition stage of which further specimens are found in Nos. 269 and 612 on the Acropolis, while No. 678 would represent the next step.

If, however, as is possible, the present arrangement of the drapery was the original one, it cannot be a transition between the type with the folds held up by the girdle in the middle of the front and the style seen on most of the Acropolis figures. The execution is too brilliant to belong to a transitional stage, nor would this be the natural step in such a transition. A female statue which forms the stand of a bronze mirror in Athens² is regarded by Poulsen as an example of a transitional type. He argues that the Acropolis figure No. 683 and a female statue in the Louvre³ represent the same stage, and he considers it mere chance that the bronze mirror stand is the only specimen that we possess from the transitional period itself.⁴ However that may be, the figures cited are sufficiently awkward and helpless to represent a vain attempt. But such excellent results as are *Plastik*, pp. 62 f; Dickins, *op. cit.* pp. 44 ff. But the manner in which the different parts of the garment are worn is the essential point, not the way in which they were fastened together.

¹ Possibly not understanding the nature of the *παρυφή* the sculptor left the projection below the *kolpos* to represent the falling end of the band which he supposed supported the skirt.

² De Ridder, *Bronzes de la Soc. arch. d'Athènes*, Pl. I, No. 151.

³ See *R. Ét. Gr.* XVIII, 1905, p. 92.

⁴ *Jb. Arch. I.* XXI, 1906, pp. 213 f.

presented by the Metropolitan statue could, on the contrary, only have been the work of a very able sculptor who already knew the graceful motive that was to become so popular, and was clever enough to adapt it in this modest, simplified fashion to the still prevailing severe type of figure.

The last point to be observed is the curved *kolpos*, which appears to have been a characteristically Ionian motive. Among the standing figures on the Acropolis we find analogies only in Nos. 602 and 687. All the others are straight.¹ But on the treasury of the Cnidians in Delphi this is the invariable form of the *kolpos* in every instance where its lower edge is visible. Hera, on the north frieze, with her belt appearing behind her *kolpos* exactly as on the Metropolitan statue, affords an especially interesting parallel. But by far the strongest argument for association of this statue with Ionia is offered by the appearance in Miletus during the German excavations of two torsi which are said by Furtwängler to present the same arrangement of drapery.²

To sum up then, the body of the Metropolitan statue with right arm made fast in front, legs evenly together, back smooth, with the chiton as the only garment, with exceptionally short back hair and no ringlets over the shoulders, with an unusual arrangement of the drapery and a curved *kolpos*, is from the hand of an exceptionally skilful Ionian artist working at an early date. Only an Ionian would have produced a thing so charming in the early period to which this figure evidently belongs. The characteristics already mentioned, as well as the high breasts, the almost straight line of the drapery in front with only the slightest suggestion of the knees underneath,³ and with no traces of the employment of the saw, place the figure in the period of the earliest Ionian experiments with draped female statues, a period shortly after the middle of the sixth century.

The head, as has been said, is an ancient restoration. It is wholly devoid of the exaggerations which invariably betray the Roman copyist, while the style of dressing the hair, the shape of the face, and the rather long, full chin are characteristic of the

¹ A slight indentation in the bottom of the *kolpos* on No. 683 may be a suggestion of the curved type, a form which seems to have met more favor for seated figures. Cf. Nos. 329, 620, 625.

² Cf. *B. Metr. Mus.* III, 1908, p. 5.

³ Even the early Attic statues Nos. 269, 602, and 678 have the legs clearly outlined in front as well as in the back. Cf. Schrader, *op. cit.*, pp. 31, 42; Lechat, *Au Musée*, p. 334.

transitional period. It bears considerable resemblance to the so-called relief of Penelope in the Vatican with its small mouth, flat cheeks, narrow tapering chin, and low forehead, and probably, like this relief, dates from the latter part of the first half of the fifth century.

The eyelids and the lips are thinner than is usual in the transitional period, but since these are the features which the sculptor expressly archaized so as to make the head more appropriate for the archaic body, they are no criterion whatsoever for the date. The corners of the mouth and the outer corners of the eyes are raised in imitation of the conventional "archaic smile." In order to make the eyes narrow, the artist unduly broadened the lower lids, almost producing a hollow-eyed effect. There is no indication of tear ducts, a feature which usually appears on archaic female heads either in outline or relief. A slight incrustation obscures the lines at the outer corner of the eyes, but the upper lid does not seem to be carried beyond the lower.

The mouth is closely shut with the middle of the exquisitely curved upper lip pressed tight into the lower. A firmly closed mouth is an unusual occurrence on a female head¹ and may be due here to the sculptor's desire to give the mouth an archaic curve.

The statue was no doubt originally resplendent with color, the waist of the chiton perhaps solid red or blue or, like the skirt, dotted with rich decorative patterns in red and blue on the white marble, in imitation of embroidery. Around the neck and down the sleeves, on the belt and the *παρυφή*, around the bottom of the skirt and perhaps half way up as well, were decorative bands of maeänder in red and blue.

The original head, doubtless, had red hair and lips, black on the edge of the brow and eyelid, black pupils, and a red iris with a black border.²

Who these dazzling creatures were, bringing their offerings to the divinity in her temple, we have as yet no means of knowing. On their pedestals were inscribed the names of men, probably in each case of the man who dedicated the statue. Perhaps they represented Athena herself in her own likeness,³ possibly they

¹ Cf. *Jb. Arch. I.* XIX, 1904, pp. 58 f.

² Cf. Lechat, *Au Musée*, pp. 160 ff, 176, 248, 254, 261; Lermann, *op. cit.* pp. 83 f.

³ Cf. Lechat, *Au Musée*, pp. 265 ff.

were portraits of Attic women,¹ but it is more likely that they themselves were merely offerings, designed to represent in permanent, visible, vivid form the constant adoration of the "goddess fearing" citizens who dedicated them.²

But whoever they were, they must have presented a gorgeous spectacle grouped about the magnificent temples with which their colors harmonized and blended, and bathed in the matchless blue of the Attic skies.

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¹ Cf. *Arch. Anz.* VIII, 1893, p. 145; *Ath. Mitt.* XI, 1886, p. 357.

² Cf. *Jb. Arch. I.* XXI, 1906, pp. 220 f.

AN IONIAN DEINOS IN BOSTON

Inv. no. 13.205. Deinos. H. 0.222 m.; D. 0.28 m. Francis Bartlett Fund, 1913. *J. H. S.* XIX, 1899, p. 144, No. 6.

Clay light brown-red, with fine particles of black and white stone and of mica; traces of a darker dull slip of the same color. Round body, slightly drawn in at the top; horizontal rim. Decoration in somewhat lustrous black glaze, applied thin in places, violet red added for hair, etc.; incised lines for practically all contours (except the back of the head) and for details; on the lip rows of opposed ivy leaves, alternately red and black; above the scene a band of herring-bone pattern bounded by two horizontal lines; below the scene a lotus flower and bud ornament bounded above and below by two horizontal lines, the buds solid red; then a band of short fine rays; bottom black with two narrow reserved rings, and concentric rings of applied red. In the centre of the main scene a large high mortar, the incised lines on its base suggesting a lotus flower, at the left a woman to right in plain Doric chiton girded, raising a pestle in both hands, a nude youth blowing a double flute, and a deinos or kettle on a metal tripod; at the right a youth to left bringing down a pestle in both hands, a second youth with olpe in right hand and net bag in left hand, a third raising a large bowl on right hand and carrying a slender oenochoe in left hand, and a fourth playing the double flute, all nude and facing the mortar; in the remainder of the frieze six nude youths dancing to left.

THE scene represented on this vase consists of two parts closely related, the preparation of a drink-offering (Fig. 1) and a dance, presumably part of the same ceremony (Fig. 2). The six nude dancing men all face toward the left and stand with the left foot flat on the ground. In contrast with the Altenburg amphora (Boehlau, *Aus ion. u. ital. Nekrop.*, p. 56) and the Louvre deinos (E 737) where the dancers leap about in-orgiastic frenzy, the scene here represents a more measured and restrained dance. Further the figures seem to represent a definite succession of poses. Beginning at the right (Fig. 2, B) the first figure, though in quite unstable equilibrium, has the torso erect, the left arm bent in, the right arm thrown out; figure two is bent farther forward, the right arm is lowered, the right foot raised; figure three is bent still further forward, the right hand is raised palm down, and the right foot thrown out. At this point a sharp transi-



A



B

FIGURE 1.—PREPARATION OF A DRINK OFFERING: IONIAN DEINOS, BOSTON.

tion occurs. Figure four (Fig. 2, A) has the torso thrown well back, both arms held out and up, the right lower leg dropped straight from the raised knee; in figure five the torso is brought nearly erect, the left arm bent and the right hand lowered, the right foot drawn in; finally in figure six the torso is fully erect, the right hand raised, the right foot thrown out. It seems fair to interpret the figures as representing successive poses in the dance, poses that might be seen at one moment if the rhythm of the dance demanded that each figure in turn took pose one, to be followed progressively by the other poses. In any case it is a measured rhythm, quite literally represented.

The scene of the drink offering also includes six figures, two flute players, two men bringing material, a man and a woman pounding with pestles in a mortar. That the hands of the flute players are all fingers is a rather expressive deviation from literalness. The flaring end of the flute tubes may be noted also on the Altenburg amphora. Music as well as the dance attends what is clearly a religious ceremony. Two attendants bring the materials for the drink-offering, each a pitcher (*oenochoe*) presumably of wine, one also a large bowl, and one a net bag or wicker basket. At the extreme left is the mixing bowl, a *deinos* on a metal tripod. And in the centre two persons are crushing grain in a mortar. The pestle as a household utensil appears on a number of vases, e.g. Naples, Heyd. 2889 (Thracian women with household utensils and armed Thracian youths) and 2422 (*Iliupersis*, including a woman who defends herself with a pestle as on the Brygos *cylix* in the Louvre, Heydemann, *Iliupersis*, Taf. I). Two women pounding with pestles in a mortar are seen on a black-figured vase of developed style reported to be in Petrograd.¹ The mortar is of the same type and size as that in the scene under discussion. References to mortar and pestle as a means for crushing grain suggest that they were in more or less general use in the Greek household, even long after the stone mills were regularly used for grinding.² Doubtless they would be retained for religious ceremonies even when mills were more generally used

¹ Heydemann, *Iliupersis*, pp. 24-25; *Bull. Inst.* 1867, p. 135; on the reverse *Hermes* with *kerykeion* carrying a ram, and a woman.

² Invention of the mill assigned to Demeter, cf. Pliny, *N. H.* VII, 191; mill in household use according to Homer, *Odys.* II, 355; VII, 104; XX, 106. Pestle and mortar preceded the mill, Serv. *ad Virg. Aen.* I, 179, "*quia apud majores molarum usus non erat, frumenta torrebant et in pilas missa pinsebant*," but used for crushing grain in Athens, Aristoph. *Vesp.* 238; *C. I. A.* II, 545.



FIGURE 2.—RITUAL DANCE: IONIAN DEINOS, BOSTON.

in preparing grain for bread. One of the scenes on the chest of Cypselus as described by Pausanias (V, 18, 2) represents two women pounding in mortars with pestles. The statement of Pausanias that they were interpreted as "skilled in the preparation of drugs" or magic potions, can best be explained on the assumption that the mortar and pestle suggested a magical or religious ceremony. Certainly the scene under discussion is a religious ceremony, and presumably the small dignified figure of a woman represents the priestess. Further, the scene is in contrast with that on other vases of the same Ionic series¹ in the fact that nothing suggests a Dionysiac ceremony; no Satyr or Silenus or symbol of that worship is present; the dance is not orgiastic, and a solemn priestess assists at the ceremony.

Any attempt to define the scene more closely is bound to be merely conjecture, yet perhaps the data justify a conjecture as to its meaning when one realizes the definite literalness of the painter. The facts are clear: In the presence of dancing men and flute players attendants bring pitchers, a bowl, and a net bag, grain is being crushed in a mortar, and a mixing bowl is ready for use. It is a fair assumption that in this bowl wine and crushed grain (barley) are to be mixed, together with a liquid brought in the large bowl of the second attendant, and probably some material brought in the net bag. Now the Greeks used a mystic or magic drink, the *κυκεών*, which was made according to Homer by mixing cheese, barley meal, and honey in "Pramnian" wine. In Homer this drink was prepared by Hecamede to revive the weary Patroclus on his visit to Nestor, and by Circe with the addition of baleful drugs to change the followers of Odysseus into swine.² According to the Homeric hymn Demeter broke her fast on coming to Eleusis by drinking the *κυκεών*, which she bade Metaneira prepare for her with barley meal and water and honey, and thus entered on the sacred rite.³ The same mixture, but with wine and sometimes with other ingredients, was used in other religious ceremonies. It seems to me reasonable to regard the present scene as representing the preparation of a *κυκεών* of crushed barley and other ingredients, perhaps wine and honey, possibly cheese. It is not a Dionysiac rite; if water is used rather

¹ Louvre, E 736; Vienna, Masner, 215; *Mon. Ant.* XIV, 293.

² *Il.* XI, 624, 638; *Od.* X, 234 f.

³ *Hom. Hymn.* IV, 208 f. Cf. Preller, *Demeter und Persephone*, p. 98, n. 50; Roscher, *Jahrb. f. Philol.* 1888, pp. 523 f.

than wine, it may well be a rite of Demeter; I do not find the data to determine it more exactly.

Technically the vase belongs with three or four *deinoi* in the Louvre published by Pottier,¹ a series which has been extended by Karo² to include the vase under discussion and four others. Thanks to Dr. L. D. Caskey I can add to this list a fragment in the Museo Kircheriano.³ Two fragments from Naucratis in this Museum are very similar in technique (Fig. 3).⁴ Karo naturally brings these bowls found in Italy into relation with the "Fikel-

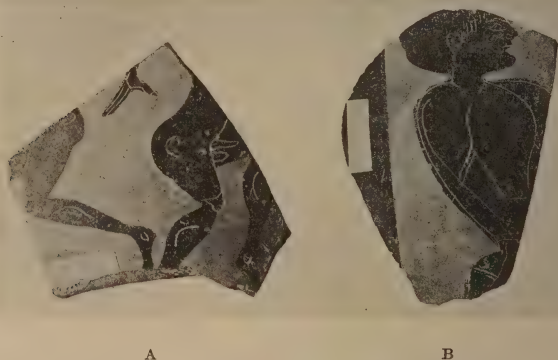


FIGURE 3.—FRAGMENTS FROM NAUCRATIS; A, No. 171; B, No. 172: BOSTON.

lura" amphora at Altenburg published by Boehlau.⁵ Whether the relationship is close enough to justify his claim that the *deinoi* are of Fikellura or Samian ware remains to be seen.

¹ *B. C. H.* XVII, 1893, pp. 423 f.

² *J. H. S.* XIX, 1899, pp. 144 f.

³ *Mon. Ant.* XIV, 1904, pp. 294 f. Six fragments of a *deinos*, three of which belong together. Herringbone band above the scene, an open lotus flower and bud ornament of the same type as that on the Boston *deinos* below; part of two centaurs dancing, forelegs human; contours and details incised, short incised lines (hair?) on the front of the human abdomen and somewhat similar lines along the horse-back, muscles suggested by pairs of shorter incised lines.

⁴ No. 88.838 (174). Fragment of jar, 0.057 m. by 0.042 m. Head and torso of youth to right in a panel. The red hair with incised fringe, incised outlines, and treatment of eye and muscles, as well as the nature of the clay recall the series of *deinoi*.

No. 86.576 (171). Fragment of jar, 0.074 m. by 0.057 m. Legs and hips of two nude men, dancing. The style of drawing and the clay resemble the series under discussion.

⁵ Boehlau, *Aus ion. und ital. Nekrop.* p. 56, figs. 26 f.

The clay of the example in Boston is of firmer, more even texture, than in the Samian vases I have examined; fine particles of black and white stone and of mica are abundant,—more abundant than in the Samian vases, but the clay has been washed till all coarser impurities are removed. On the Samian vases a somewhat chalky buff slip is usual; the vase under discussion had apparently a smooth though not shiny slip of a slightly darker brown than the clay. An examination of one vase from the group of *deinoi* and of a few Samian vases merely raises a doubt as to whether the clay is from the same source.

As for the ornamentation, the *deinos* in Rome has a band of painted scale pattern, which is found on Samian vases as well as on late Mycenaean and on Rhodian vases (cf. Karo, *J.H.S.* XIX, p. 145). The lotus bud and flower band resembles the Samian type, and the polypus or wheel pattern on two examples recalls the band of crescents on Samian vases. The most striking resemblance is in the open slender forms of the lotus bud and flower pattern; it should be noted, however, that the bulbous forms of petals and bud differ from the Samian type, much as the Samian differs from the Rhodian (Milesian); moreover the broad bud is not divided by a reserved vertical line, and it is solidly covered with violet red. Of the other ornaments, the ivy leaf occurs on Samian ware but not in the opposed bands of small ivy leaves, while the herringbone pattern, the tongue pattern, the elaborate zigzag, the undulated ribbon, and the chain of opposed loops are not used on Samian ware. So far as the decoration of the *deinoi* is concerned, it seems to be Ionic and the form of lotus bud and flower suggests familiarity with the Samian type.

A stronger argument for connecting the *deinoi* with Samian ware arises from a comparison of the dancing men with the same scene on the Samian amphora at Altenburg (Boehlau, *l.c.* p. 56). Here the frieze is divided into groups of six dancing men by two *deinoi* on stands; the style of the drawing, so far as one can judge from the reproduction, and the scene with *deinos*, flute player, *oenochos* and bowls carried by dancers, are much the same as on the *deinos* in Boston. Moreover details are indicated by incised lines, though these are less freely used on the Altenburg amphora. We may certainly assume with Karo that the *deinoi* were "made on one of the Ionic islands, or in a colony on the Asiatic coast" (Karo, *l.c.* p. 145). If, however, our Samian ware is to be dated in the second half of the sixth century, B.C. the question remains

open whether the group of *deinoi* can be given that place in the development of black figured ware which Karo suggests, or whether they are contemporary with the developed black figured style at Athens.

An examination of the figures on the *deinos* in Boston indicates that they were drawn by a practiced hand in a distinctive developed style. With the exception of the woman with pestle, the figures are nude men drawn after one stereotyped manner. The flute players are almost in full profile, the other figures have the shoulders turned more or less toward a front view. Only the woman stands stiffly; the flute players and the other attendant men have the legs slightly bent, the hips thrown back and the body bent forward in an effort to give them vivacity. The stereotyped form of figure is notable for its full rounded lines, even though the figures are fairly slender. The long curving line of the left side from armpit to knee, the unbroken line of the right leg, the line from neck to hand and again from the bent left knee to the toe, indicate the fondness of the painter for flowing lines. The head has a flattened round form, broken only by the angle of the nose, except in the case of one or two protruding round chins. The thighs are short, full and rounded, in contrast with the slender lower leg and foot; similarly the short full upper arm, merging with the shoulder, is in contrast with the slender forearm and hand. The ankles and wrists are simply omitted. In spite of the short neck and good sized head, the slender waist, forearms, and lower legs prevent the figures from seeming heavy.

The use of incised lines emphasizes the conventionalized character of the drawing. Outlines as well as details inside the silhouette are incised, as often on Ionian vases. The eye, as normally on Ionian vases, is a long pointed oval with a circle for the pupil, the same for the men and the woman. The ear is a figure 8, drawn like a reversing spiral.¹ The hair, which is painted red and is in most cases long and confined by an incised band at the back of the neck, has a fringe of short incised lines. The collar bone is indicated by an incised V at the neck, the muscle of the upper arm by an incised V pointing out from the shoulder, the large thigh muscle and the muscle of the calf by pairs of short curved lines, the knee cap by a very small circle or half circle, and in one case only the ankle bone is marked by a very small circle. Along the front of the abdomen from the breast down a band of short

¹ Cf. De Luynes, *Vases peints*, pl. VI, upper zone.

oblique incised lines perhaps indicates hair.¹ The nipples and the structure of breast and abdomen are not indicated at all.

The style of the drawing is clearly Ionian, and relations may be pointed out with other defined types of vases made in Ionia, and in Italy after the Ionian manner. To assign it to a particular locality, unless possibly to Samos, is hardly possible with the data at our command. Its interest lies in the successful combination of characteristics not often found together. On the one hand a skilled, practiced painter is using definite conventions for the human figure, expressing himself through them with no effort to transcend them. On the other hand the carefully balanced scene which he has developed is realistic in the sense that it evidently gives an accurate transcription of the theme; and again his use of conventions in no way hinders his expression of the living reality of these dancers and flute players and attendants. In a word his sense for life and for reality is expressed successfully within the mode in which he worked.

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¹ Cf. *B. C. H.* XVII, p. 427, fig. 2, Louvre, E. 737 for the red hair, short incised lines on front of abdomen, V for muscle of upper arm, and very small circle for knee cap. Cf. also *Mon. Ant.* XIV, p. 294, fig. 7, Mus. Kirch. 4788-4790, for incised lines on front of abdomen and back line of horse in the centaurs, for double V indicating muscle of upper arm, and for pairs of curved lines to mark muscles of thigh and calf.

THE PALACE OF ODYSSEUS

SINCE the time of Didymus,¹ plans of the palace of Odysseus have been drawn by commentators on the *Odyssey* to illustrate the action of the poem. During the greater part of the nineteenth century these, with few exceptions,² were based on the supposed arrangement of the Greek house of historical times, with the women's apartments and the storerooms in the rear of the great hall. The uncovering of the ruins at Tiryns, however, led Dörpfeld in 1885,³ to believe that the home of Odysseus resembled rather the prehistoric palace, in fact, that the story of the return of Odysseus could have been enacted in a structure like that at Tiryns. This view has found much favor, especially in Germany. In England Jebb⁴ upheld the traditional theory against Dörpfeld, and showed from passages in the *Odyssey* that the women's quarters at Ithaca must have been more easily accessible from the megaron than could have been possible at Tiryns. His arguments convinced scholars like Hentze,⁵ Chipiez,⁶ and Seymour.⁷ But Professor J. L. Myres⁸ took issue with both Jebb and Dörpfeld, and placed the apartments of the women across the courtyard from the great hall, as they may have been situated at Mycenae. Finally, the late Mr. Guy Dickins,⁹ who fell in 1916 in the first Somme offensive, attempted in a certain sense to harmonize the traditional theory with the results of excavations on prehistoric sites. Because of the argument of Professor E. A. Gardner¹⁰ that

¹ Cf. Schenkl, *Die Homerische Palastbeschreibung* (1893), p. 7, and Eustathius. 1921, 53.

² Especially the plan of Hayman, *The Odyssey of Homer*, Vol. I (1866), Fig. 1, illustrating Appendix F. 2.

³ Schliemann's *Tiryns*, pp. 237 ff.

⁴ *J.H.S.* VII, 1886, pp. 170-189; cf. *Introduction to Homer*, pp. 175 ff.

⁵ *Odyssee*, a 333, Anhang.

⁶ Perrot-Chipiez, *Hist. de l'Art*, VII, Pl. I.

⁷ *Homeric Age*, pp. 189, 197. Professor van Leeuwen, *Commentationes Homericae*, p. 201, and Miss Stawell, *The Iliad of Homer*, p. 175, also place the apartments of Penelope in the rear of the megaron.

⁸ *J.H.S.* XX, 1900, pp. 128-150.

⁹ *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, pp. 325-334.

¹⁰ *J.H.S.* XXI, 1901, pp. 293-305.

in the historical Greek house the gynaeconitis was under the same roof with the andron (although not behind it), Dickins placed the apartments of Penelope near the front corner of the megaron, but suggested that the storerooms opened on a corridor running along the side of the great hall *on the analogy of the palace at Cnossus*. The problem of the palace of Odysseus, therefore, still awaits a satisfactory solution. The present paper offers new evidence for the location of the apartments of Penelope and for the relation between the megaron and the storerooms.

As a basis of the discussion we assume that Homer presents a consistent picture of the palace throughout the poem. We do not accept Noack's theory that the hyperoön is mentioned only in late (and inferior) passages, for this theory rests upon the hypothesis of a stratification of the poem which is not generally accepted, and, furthermore, is contradicted, as Dörpfeld has remarked,¹ by the existence of a stairway at Mycenae, not to speak of Cnossus and Phaestus. Nor do we find it necessary to suppose that Homer at any point in the poem thinks of an arrangement of the palace which conflicts with that which is found in other passages. The more carefully the Odyssey is studied, the more accurate in details does the poet prove to have been, and while it is true that he frequently introduces a feature merely for the sake of the moment, yet this is rarely out of harmony with the other parts of his tale. We also hold it to be probable that the poet was familiar with structures, or at least with the story of structures, which in essentials resembled the prehistoric palaces which have been discovered on the mainland of Greece, and belong to the end of the Aegean Age, and which differ alike from the historical Greek house and from the Cretan palace. How he could have known buildings which belonged to an era several centuries before his own time is hard to determine, but that he did is rendered likely by his knowledge of many other features of that civilization which the excavations have revealed. That these assumptions, on which our discussion rests, are open to objections is not to be denied, but in the interpretation of Homer as well as in archaeology the position of the pragmatist has this in its favor: it does not lead to more difficulties than it attempts to remove.

The palaces at Tiryns, Mycenae, and Gha (Figs. 1, 2, 3) are alike in the use of megaron with vestibule, which may be either

¹ *Ath. Mitt.* XXX, 1905, p. 281.

single or double, and of other rooms opening on corridors. They differ in the situation of the apartments of secondary importance with respect to the megaron. Hence it is not necessary to believe that the palace of Odysseus was arranged like that at Mycenae or that at Tiryns, unless such an arrangement suits the narrative better than any other. A structure so complex as a palace was in all probability a growth to meet the increasing needs of the family and the estate, and the size, shape, and especially the location of the subsidiary apartments must have depended



FIGURE 1.—THE PALACE AT TIRYNS.

not only on these needs but on the peculiarities of the site and on the individual taste of the proprietor. An example of such a growth is the New England farmhouse, in which to the nucleus of a rectangular structure with central hallway were added an "L" or "lean-to" and various other extensions in widely differing ways. Similarly the Homeric palace in its simplest form may well have consisted, as Noack has suggested,¹ of the megaron alone, in which the family lived and slept. There is no reason why a palace as simple as this should not have sufficed at Ithaca for Laertes and Anticleia so long as their two children were small. Let us suppose that this was the case, and then let us trace a few

¹ *Homerische Paläste*, pp. 45 ff.

of the steps in the expansion of the palace, noting especially the various apartments which in all probability were occupied from time to time by Penelope, from her coming to Ithaca until the return of Odysseus. It is not assumed that these conclusions admit of proof, but they help to present our problem with greater clearness.

When Odysseus grew to manhood he required a separate thalamos, perhaps like that of Telemachus, which was in the

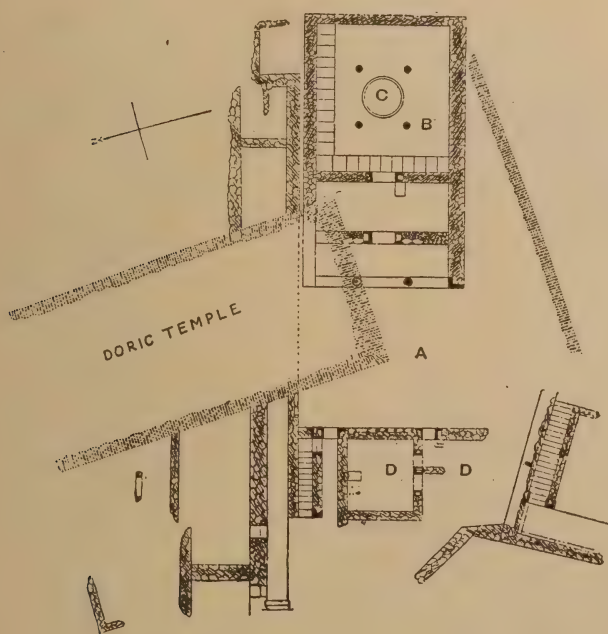


FIGURE 2.—THE PALACE AT MYCENAE.

courtyard (a 425). On his marriage with Penelope we are told that he built a chamber for himself and his bride, using the trunk of an olive tree in the construction of the nuptial couch (ψ 190–201). The poet gives no hint of the location of this marriage chamber, save that it was within the wall enclosing the palace (ψ 190). The most natural place for it would be in the courtyard: the apartments of Priam's twelve daughters and their husbands were thus situated, and as these chambers were "on the other side" (sc. of the courtyard) and "opposite to" the thalamoi of his fifty married sons, the latter, too, must have had

their dwellings in the αἶλῃ.¹ The increasing wealth of the family at Ithaca must have made it necessary to erect more storerooms, and to enlarge the quarters for the growing number of slaves. It is likely that Penelope continued to occupy the nuptial thalamos of Odysseus until Anticleia died and Laertes retired to his house in the fields, at least seven years before the return of Odysseus. Then she would naturally remove to that portion of the palace which was set apart for the master and mistress, which we



FIGURE 3.—THE PALACE AT GHA.

have assumed to be the great hall. The arrival of the Suitors, however, and their banquets in the hall, made it inconvenient, if not impossible, for her to sleep there any longer. Hence she must seek other quarters. The poet could not allow her to return to the thalamos of Odysseus, for the recognition scene in ψ made it necessary that this should have been unused for some years. So she took up her abode in an upper room which seems to have been

¹ Z 242-250. Ameis-Hentze give the most natural interpretation of the passage. Others, *e.g.*, Monro, take it differently, but Monro is puzzled to explain why the apartments of the sons of Priam were located differently from those of the daughters.

directly or approximately over the large room in which her women worked at the wool, carding and spinning, and doubtless weaving. Where were these apartments, or—to avoid begging the question—where were the apartments in which the queen is found at the return of Odysseus? Jebb answers, in the rear of the megaron; Dörpfeld, at the side, but some distance away; Myres, across the courtyard, and Dickins, at a front corner of the megaron. I believe the last is most likely to be correct.¹

I.

The location of the women's apartments, as Dörpfeld identifies them at Tiryns, is ill-adapted to the palace at Ithaca, for it places the queen too far from the great hall. Penelope from her upper room hears the words of the bard's song (α 328), and her sobbing seems to Odysseus, lying awake in the prodomos, to be near his head (ν 92–94). From the thalamos below she hears Telemachus sneeze in the megaron (ρ 541 f.), and while seated in front of her door she catches the words “of each man in the hall” (ν 387–389). These passages cannot apply to a structure like that at Tiryns, as a glance at the plan (Fig. 1) will show.

Jebb's plan (Fig. 4), although it has the force of tradition behind it, and is in essentials the one most widely accepted, is not supported by any archaeological evidence, and—what is much more to the point—it does not suit the action of the *Odyssey*. Jebb assumes as the basis of his theory that there was a door at the farther end of the megaron opening into the apartments of the women, and that the stone threshold (ρ 30, ν 258, ψ 88) belongs to this doorway. There are at least three very serious and apparently insurmountable obstacles to the acceptance of this view.

In the first place, it leads to a most unusual situation at the end of the twenty-first book. Odysseus, from his seat near the stone threshold, shoots an arrow through the axes (ϕ 420–423), and then is found separated from the great door-stone on which he leaps at χ 2, by the entire length of the hall. According to Jebb, he carries bow and quiver from one end of the hall to the other unnoticed by the poet and unhindered by the Suitors. This alone should render Jebb's view unacceptable—although it would be better to agree with him than with Andrew Lang, who

¹ I had come to a similar conclusion, on different grounds, when my attention was called by my friend Dr. Lacey D. Caskey to the article of Mr. Dickins.

in his translation of the *Odyssey* makes Odysseus shoot the Suitors from the threshold at the farther end of the hall.¹

But, secondly, Jebb's evidence for the location of this threshold is weak. Homer mentions two thresholds of the hall of Odysseus, one of ash, which we know to have been at the entrance in front (ρ 339), and the other of stone.

The latter is mentioned three times.

(1) At the banquet preceding the slaughter Telemachus seats Odysseus, who is disguised as a beggar, "beside the stone threshold" (ν 258). Jebb holds that this was "clearly at the upper end of the hall." But there is no direct evidence for this, and, as we have seen, the probabilities are against it.

(2) Just before the recognition scene (ψ 88) Penelope crosses the threshold of stone in entering the hall. We can draw no conclusions from this verse until we know the location of the queen's upper chamber, from which she came.

(3) The third passage, overlooked by Jebb, is conclusive against him. Telemachus, coming from the hut of Eumaeus, and before he has seen his mother, crosses the stone threshold (ρ 30), and finds Eurycleia spreading fleeces over the thrones, that is, she is in the great hall preparing it for the coming of the Suitors. Hence the stone threshold, as well as the thresh-

old of ash, must be at the entrance to the megaron. The existence of two thresholds in one doorway presents a difficulty which we must try to remove before going further with the discussion.

Several explanations are offered. According to the least satisfactory of these the poet is inconsistent and refers to the same

¹ Butcher and Lang, *Odyssey*, pp. 422 ff., note 18: 'The House of Odysseus.' Later, in his book *Homer and His Age* (1906), p. 211, he gives up this view, and seems to adopt that of Professor Myres.



FIGURE 4.—THE HOMERIC PALACE: JEBB.

threshold as now of ash and again of stone. This way out of the difficulty is both contrary to our premise and unnecessary, since two possible locations at the front of the megaron have been proposed for the two thresholds. The first is that of Reichel,¹ who places the threshold of stone between the megaron and the prodromos, and that of ash in the doorway which leads from prodromos into aithousa (Fig. 6, L). There are two objections to Reichel's suggestion. (1) After Odysseus has left the ashen threshold, and has passed around the hall, begging from the Suitors, he returns with full wallet to his seat on the threshold (ρ 466, ἀψ δ' ὄγ' ἐπ' οὐδὸν ἰὼν κάτ' ἄρ' ἔξετο), and from there addresses the Suitors. The threshold mentioned in this verse would naturally be the one on which he had been sitting, that is, the ashen threshold, and from there, if it is where Reichel puts it, he could not well speak to the Suitors. (2) The evidence is against the existence of a double vestibule in the palace of Odysseus. We are not told anywhere in the poem that the great hall of Odysseus had an aithousa.² In the palace of Menelaus prodromos and aithousa were identical: Helen orders her maids to prepare couches in the aithousa for Telemachus and Pisistratus (δ 297), and later we learn that the two princes slept in the prodromos (δ 302).³ Finally, the evidence offered by Joseph⁴ in favor of a double vestibule in the palace of the father of Phoenix (I, 472 ff.), rests on a misunderstanding of the passage. The situation is this: For nine days Phoenix has been kept a prisoner in the palace by being shut up in his thalamos (which, like that of Telemachus, was probably in the courtyard). His guards, we are told, kept watch by night, kindling two fires, one in the aithousa of the court (vs. 472) and the other in the prodromos, be-

¹ *Arch. Epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, XVIII, 1895, pp. 8 f.

² Two of Professor Myres' statements in his argument for a double vestibule (*J.H.S.* XX, pp. 144-145), viz., that prodromos and aithousa are occasionally mentioned together, and that the whole body of Suitors ate in the prodromos, must be due to an oversight. It is *πρόθυρον* which is linked with *αἶθουσα*, and that is quite a different thing from *πρόδρομος*, and of course the Suitors dine only in the hall. Nor is it likely, as Myres holds, that the guests of the father of Eumaeus dined in the prodromos (ο 466, and the note of Ameis-Hentze). The poet tells us that the beakers and tables were in the prodromos, but the feast had ended sometime before, or else had not yet begun (cf. ο 468), and so the tables were not in the hall (cf. τ 61 f. cited by Ameis-Hentze, and Σ 376).

³ Professor Myres explains (*l.c.*) that prodromos is a larger and vaguer term, and includes both parts of the double vestibule. But this is hardly satisfactory.

⁴ *Die Paläste des Hom. Epos*, p. 31.

fore the door of the thalamos (vs. 473). On the tenth night he makes his escape in spite of the guards, by bursting open the door of his chamber and overleaping the encircling wall of the courtyard, that is, he forces his way through the guards at his door, and avoids those who were in the "aithousa of the court." Hence the latter is not immediately in front of the prodomos, but is in all likelihood the covered portico inside the gateway, as at Tiryns (Fig. 1) and in the palace of Odysseus (ϕ 390).¹ Therefore, while the argument *e silentio* is far from being conclusive, it seems probable that the hall of Odysseus, like the megara at Gha (Fig. 3, B, Q.) and at Hissarlik, had but a single forechamber. On this ground, too, we must reject Reichel's identification of the two thresholds. There remains the explanation offered by Professor Myres (*op. cit.*, 136-139): both the thresholds belonged to the same doorway. The sill of the door was of ash, as its jambs were of cypress (ρ 339 f.). Under the sill was the stone threshold, called also the great threshold (χ 2), a slightly elevated platform of stone, so large that on it could stand two wrangling beggars (σ 33), or four armed men (χ 115, 203). This theory harmonizes with the action of the Odyssey, and also aids in the interpretation of a difficult passage (χ 126 ff.), which we shall discuss later. Therefore, in spite of the lack of any parallel in the prehistoric palaces which have been discovered, we must accept it as the most probable.

We may now return to Jebb's plan of the palace, and consider the most serious objection to it. As Dörpfeld took for granted that in the smaller megaron at Tiryns he had found the gynaeconitis, so Jebb assumed without argument that in the Homeric palace the "top of the hall" was at the end farthest from the door, as in mediaeval times and as at Oxford, for example, today. Against this view Professor Myres argued that the use of the phrases $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$ and $\kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}$ $\delta\tilde{\omega}\mu\alpha$, "up the hall," "down the hall," in the Odyssey, shows that just the opposite is true, the "top of the hall" being near the entrance. These phrases, however, prove little more than that the poet thought of the main doorway

¹ This is the interpretation of Ameis-Hentze. Another occurs to me as possible. The guards of Phoenix slept $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi' \alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\alpha}\tilde{\omega}$ (I, 470). The preposition implies a position around, if not on two sides of the thalamos. May it not be that the $\alpha\iota\theta\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha \alpha\upsilon\lambda\eta\varsigma$ of vs. 472 was one of the porticoes which ran along the wall of the courtyard (cf. Fig. 1), that the thalamos stood in front of this, and that the purpose of the night-watch in the aithousa was to prevent the escape of the prisoner from his thalamos by means of a rear door or window?

as the point of departure, just as the Greeks thought of the sea-shore, or, to use the words of Professor Myres, the hall is regarded as a well, with its mouth at the entrance. They do not indicate that the position of honor, the "head of the hall," was not "at the bottom of the well," where Jebb places it. In fact, Professor Myres himself holds that the head of the hall was near the hearth, and therefore near the middle of the hall. But there is convincing evidence, which apparently has never been noticed, that in the scenes which are laid in the megaron the leaders are placed in the front portion. Since this has a direct bearing on the location of Penelope's apartments, we must consider it at some length.

We follow Jebb in picturing the 108 Suitors as seated in two rows at least, along the side walls of the hall. As evidence for this arrangement may be cited the palace of Alcinous, in which the king and his family sat by the hearth, and the nobles by either wall (ζ 305 ff., η 95 ff.). We note also that when Odysseus begged from the Suitors (ρ 366), he stretched out his hand in all directions. This implies at least a double row, which would be necessary on account of the numbers.¹ The poet tells us that the Suitors sat "on thrones and on *klismoi*." Very likely the former were placed against the wall, and the latter in front of these, for they were movable seats which could be brought in to accommodate additional guests. Now there is a passage which shows conclusively that Antinous, the leader of the Suitors, sat at the end of one of the rows, nearest the main doorway, and probably on the lefthand side. Telemachus bids the Beggar-Odysseus to beg from all the Suitors, and after the bard has finished his lay, Odysseus makes his round *from left to right* (ἐνδέξια, ρ 365), asking of each man, "as though he were a beggar from of old." When all the others have given him something and he is on the point of returning with full wallet to his seat on the threshold, he pauses by Antinous. The latter, therefore, sat nearest to the threshold of all the princes on the same side of the hall. No one can question that the threshold in question was at the front of the megaron. Hence we have fixed with certainty where Antinous sat when Odysseus arrived at the palace.²

¹ On this point cf. 'The Suitors of Penelope,' *Trans. Amer. Philol. Association*, XLIX, 1918.

² Whether Antinous sat on the left or the right side of the hall depends on the point of view from which the phrase "from left to right" is to be interpreted, that of Odysseus or of the Suitors. The latter seems more natural.

That his seat was the same on the following day is probable on general grounds, and is supported by the evidence. In the Contest of the Bow Antinous proposes that all shall try in turn, "from left to right (*ἐπιδέξια*), beginning where the wine is poured" (*φ* 141). The Suitors agreeing, the first to essay the contest is Leiodes, who occupied a throne (*φ* 166) beside the mixing-bowl (*φ* 145), and, the poet adds (*vs.* 146), "sat always farthest from the entrance" (*μυχόιτατος αἰεί*). His soft hands soon prove unequal to the task. Then the bow is warmed and greased, and the young men endeavor to bend it, but in vain. The bow has not yet reached the two leaders, Antinous and Eurymachus,¹ when the swineherd and the neatherd leave the hall, followed by Odysseus. When the three return, Eurymachus is trying the bow. He fails like the others. Then on the suggestion of Antinous, it is agreed to postpone the remaining trials until the following day. We must assume that only the Suitors on one side of the hall have taken their turn, with the exception of Antinous.² This places the leader where he sat on the previous evening, farthest from Leiodes, and nearest the door. Certain details of the slaughter which follows show this assumption to be correct. Antinous, nearest the threshold on which Odysseus stands (*χ* 2; cf. Fig. 7, *Λ*), is the first to receive an arrow, as he deserves. Eurymachus is next, and Leiodes, farthest from the door, is the last to be slain.

As the position of the two leaders of the Suitors is fixed near the "top of the hall," which Myres has shown to be the end towards the entrance, so we may with certainty place Telemachus near the hearth in the centre, but on the side facing the front, or at least seated so that he can see the door, for he catches the nod of Odysseus (*φ* 431), who has, however, secured his attention by addressing him directly. Near the hearth the family gathers, as

¹ *φ* 186, Ἀντίνοος δ' ἔρ' ἐπέιχε καὶ Εὐρύμαχος θεοειδής. The meaning of ἐπέιχε is disputed, some holding that it is to be rendered, "was holding to the task (of bending the bow)." But surely "was holding aloof" is the more natural interpretation, and this seems to be put beyond reasonable doubt by ἦδη (*φ* 245). [After the two slaves have returned to the hall, preceded by Odysseus] Εὐρύμαχος δ' ἦδη τόξον μετὰ χερσὶν ἐνώμα).

² Against this assumption that less than half of the Suitors had essayed to bend the bow may be urged the words of the shade of Amphimedon (*ω* 170 f.), "No one of us could string the mighty bow." He does not say specifically, however, that all had made the attempt, and if they had, there is little point to the words of Antinous (*φ* 268), "Tomorrow let us *finish* the contest," *i.e.*, "Let me and the Suitors on the other side of the hall as far as Leiodes, who have not yet contested, have their turns."

we have seen, and here Odysseus sits after he has slain the Suitors and is again master of his palace (ψ 90 f.). It is necessary to place Telemachus here in order to explain his movements at the beginning of the slaughter (χ 89-94). After Antinous and Eurymachus have been slain, the poet tells us that Amphinomus, the Dulichian, draws his dagger and rushes towards the door, hoping to force Odysseus from his position there. But Telemachus was too quick for him, and *from behind him* brings him to earth by a blow of his spear.¹ Telemachus, therefore, must have been seated towards the centre of the hall rather than near his father. We may add that the seat to which Telemachus conducted Mentès-Athena (α 130), was also, as it seems, near the hearth, for here was the only throne, so far as we know, which would have been "apart from the Suitors" (α 132; see the latter part of note 1). Penelope, too, sits near the hearth in the evening, after the departure of the Suitors (τ 55); In the daytime, on the contrary, she sits by the door in the absence of the Suitors, and when they are present she does not enter the hall farther than the doorway.² The poet never tells us that the queen sat in the

¹ The only objection to this interpretation is a passage at the end of the Contest of the Bow (ϕ 431-434). At a nod from his father Telemachus girds on his sword and grasps his spear, ($\acute{\alpha}\gamma\chi\iota\ \delta'\ \acute{\alpha}\rho'\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\ \theta\rho\acute{o}\nu\omicron\nu\ \acute{\epsilon}\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\epsilon\kappa\omicron\rho\upsilon\theta\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\lambda\theta\omicron\pi\iota\ \chi\alpha\lambda\kappa\acute{\omega}$). "He stood beside his throne, near him (Odysseus), armed with gleaming bronze." This seems strange, for Odysseus was sitting close to the threshold, and there is no mention elsewhere of a throne near the doorway: Penelope sits on a *klismos* (ρ 96), and Telemachus and Theoclymenus (in order to be near her) also occupy *klismoi*, and not the thrones of host and honored guest. Furthermore, if Telemachus were standing near his father, it is hard to see how he could have struck Amphinomus *in the back*. So I am inclined to accept the emendation of Miss Stawell (*op. cit.*, p. 178, note 2), who reads *κεκορυθμένον*—a very slight change which she ably justifies. The lines quoted above now refer to the spear: "It was standing near him (Telemachus), tipped with gleaming bronze" (cf. χ 125, Δ 43). This emendation also removes the objection of certain critics who ask where Telemachus got his spear; he took it from the "well-polished spear-rack" (α 128), where it rested against a tall column (α 127), and the latter was near both the hearth and the throne occupied by the head of the family (cf. ξ 308).

² Professor Myres cannot be right in understanding *παρὰ σταθμόν μεγάροιο* (α 333, π 415, σ 209, ϕ 64) to refer to one of the columns near the hearth. The column (*κίων*) was round (cf. ψ 191, and the archaeological evidence); the *σταθμός* was "hewn to a line" (ρ 340 f.), that is, squared. The word *σταθμός* is used of a support eighteen times in the two poems; in two-thirds of these cases it must mean a door-post, and it need never refer to a column. Nor are *κίων* and *σταθμός* ever used interchangeably.

presence of her wooers, although she must have done so at least twice, while the gifts were being brought from the city (σ 291 ff.) and during the contest of the bow (ϕ 63-353). He will not give his hearers the impression that she ever shares in the company of the roystering princes, and therefore always pictures her as standing on the broad door-step which plays such a prominent part in the story. Since it is from this position that she converses with Telemachus and with the leaders of the Suitors, and since, as we have given reasons for believing, both the prince and these leaders are seated in the front part of the hall, we have an added and a conclusive reason for rejecting Jebb's location of the threshold, and consequently of the apartments of the women.

Nor is the situation proposed by Professor Myres, across the courtyard from the megaron (Fig. 2, D.), sufficiently free from objections to be acceptable. On general grounds we should expect the women's quarters to be more closely integrated with the main structure, as both Seymour and Dickins have remarked.¹ Furthermore, a palace arranged like that at Mycenae fails to meet the requirements of several passages in the *Odyssey*. In δ 679 Medon, while outside the courtyard, overhears the Suitors plotting to lie in ambush for Telemachus, and starts $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \delta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$ to tell the queen. Now the phrase $\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \delta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ ($\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \delta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$) elsewhere in the *Odyssey* implies passing through at least some portion of the main structure consisting of megaron and porch, in fact, $\delta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha$ ($\delta\acute{\omega}\mu\alpha\tau\alpha$) always includes a part of this portion of the palace. If the herald had only to enter the outer gate and proceed directly to the door of Penelope's chamber, without approaching the main building, the use of the phrase is somewhat unnatural. Again, the courtyard at Ithaca must have been at least as large as that at Mycenae, if more than one hundred princes could engage in their sports before the door of the megaron, and at Mycenae it is about seventy feet from the megaron to the door of the building which Professor Myres takes as the queen's apartments. This is rather too far to permit the words spoken in the hall to be heard by Penelope. But the chief and decisive passage is ν 92 f: *Odysseus*, as he lies awake in the prodomos, hears Penelope (who is in her upper chamber) sobbing, and he thinks that she is standing near his head. Surely her bedchamber is nearer the porch of the palace than Professor Myres places it.

We may note in passing a plan of the Homeric palace drawn by

¹ *Homeric Age*, p. 197; *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, p. 328.

Dr. Walter Leaf¹ to illustrate the action of the Iliad (Fig. 5). This is based on a slight modification of Dörpfeld's theory,

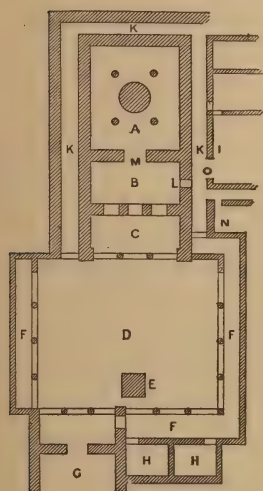


FIGURE 5.—THE HOMERIC PALACE: LEAF.

for it places the women's quarters and the other thalamoi at the side of the megaron, although not so far away. This plan is not open to any of the objections that have been urged against the theories of Dörpfeld, Jebb, or Myres. The apartments of Penelope (at I or N, Fig. 5) are of easy access to the door of the megaron (Fig. 5, M), and if we suppose there was a door at O, the queen might easily have overheard the words spoken within the hall, and her sobbing might have seemed very near to one who was in the prodomos. But Dr. Leaf's arrangement of the other thalamoi, especially the storerooms, and the direction in which he, with most other scholars, makes the *λαύρη* run (Fig. 5, K), interfere with

what seems to be the most reasonable solution of a famous crux of the Odyssey (χ 126 ff.), to which we now turn.

II.

At χ 125 the last arrow has been shot, Telemachus has brought from the armory spears, helmets, and shields for Odysseus and his three allies, and they have armed themselves and taken their stand upon the great door-stone. The poet now describes how the traitor Melanthius obtained arms for some of the Suitors, and how his treachery was discovered. The passage is so long that only the verses which are pertinent to the discussion of the palace will be quoted, the others being briefly summarized.

ὀρσοθύρη δέ τις ἔσκεν ἐνδμήτῳ ἐνὶ τοίχῳ,	126
ἀκρότατον δὲ παρ' οὐδὸν ἐνσταθέος μεγάροιο	127
ἦν ὁδὸς ἐς λαύρην, σανίδες δ' ἔχον εὖ ἀραρυῖαι.	128
τὴν Ὀδυσσεὺς φράζεσθαι ἀνώγει δῖον ὕφορβον	129

¹ *The Iliad*,² Vol. I, p. 588. I have added the letters M, N, O, and have placed a doorway at O.

ἔστεῶτ' ἄγχ' αὐτῆς· μία δ' οἷη γίγνεται ἐφορμή.	130
.....	
“ ἄγχι γὰρ αἰνῶς	136
αὐλῆς καλὰ θύρετρα, καὶ ἀργαλέον στόμα λαύρης·	137
καὶ χ' εἰς πάντας ἐρύκοι ἀνὴρ.”	138
.....	
ὥς εἰπὼν ἀνέβαινε Μελάνθιος αἰπόλος αἰγῶν	142
ἐς θαλάμους Ὀδυσῆος ἀνὰ ῥώγας μεγάροιο.	143
.....	
νόησε δὲ δῖος ὑφορβός;	162
αἶψα δ' Ὀδυσσῆα προσεφώνεεν ἐγγὺς ἐόντα·	163
.....	
“ κείνος δὴ αὐτ' αἰδήλος ἀνὴρ, ὃν διόμεθ' αὐτοί,	165
ἔρχεται ἐς θάλαμον.”	166

“Now there was an ὀρσοθύρη [a door of some kind] in the well-built wall; and past the top of the threshold of the well-stablished hall ran a way that led into a corridor, and well-fitted doors barred it. This Odysseus bade the godlike swineheard to mind, standing close to it. An enemy would have but a single means of approach.” [Agelaus, who now leads the Suitors, suggests that someone go out by the ὀρσοθύρη (ἀν' ὀρσοθύρην ἀναβαίη) to the town for help. Melanthius replies that this is impossible.] “‘For the doors into the courtyard are terribly near, and the entrance to the corridor is hard to force. One man could hold it against a multitude.’ Thus speaking the goatherd Melanthius went out to the storerooms through the narrow passages leading from the hall.” [The goatherd brings twelve suits of armor. Odysseus sees the Suitors arming themselves, and says there must be treachery somewhere. Telemachus takes the blame because he had left open the door of the armory. Odysseus bids Eumaeus go and make fast the door, and see who the traitor is. Melanthius now went again for armor.] “And the godlike swineheard noticed him, and quickly said to Odysseus, *who was near him*, ‘There is the destructive man again, the one whom we suspected, going to the armory.’”

There are at least eight points in this passage on which commentators fail to agree. We shall discuss them in the order in which they occur. (1) The ὀρσοθύρη. The various explanations which have been proposed include the following: a postern

gate, as at Tiryns;¹ a side door in the prodomos;² a door in the middle of the side wall of the megaron, either at the top of a flight of stairs³ or of a ladder,⁴ or else more nearly on a level with the floor of the hall;⁵ a door in the side wall near the front,⁶ or, finally, a door in the rear of the megaron, probably in the side wall (Fig. 7).⁷ The last view finds the best support in the evidence from the Odyssey. Leiodes, as we have seen, always sat farthest from the entrance, and his throne was beside the mixing-bowl. The latter, therefore, was in the rear of the hall. He is likewise the last of the Suitors to be slain. We can determine approximately the position of Odysseus and his allies at the end of the massacre which concludes the spear-fight; they were some distance down the hall (χ 307), but had not reached the farther end, for Leiodes runs forward to clasp the knees of Odysseus (χ 310), and the latter kills him with the dagger which had fallen from the hand of the dying Agelaus, leader of the Suitors, and consequently in the front rank in their second and last onset (χ 293). After the death of Leiodes, the bard Phemius hesitates whether to go out by the orsothyre and take sanctuary on the altar of Zeus Herceius in the courtyard, or to throw himself at the feet of Odysseus and beg for mercy. He decides on the latter course, and lays down his lyre between a throne and the mixing-bowl (χ 330-341). Phemius is, therefore, standing at the farther end of the hall, and the orsothyre is also there, for otherwise either Odysseus or one of his allies would block an escape by this route. This interpretation agrees with the passage which we are discussing. The suggestion of Agelaus that someone go for reënforcements by way of the orsothyre is more intelligible if the latter is in the rear of the Suitors rather than near the terrible Odysseus and his supporters.

¹ Schenkl, *Die Homerische Palastbeschreibung*, p. 16. This requires the rejection of χ 333. Schenkl gives all the extant passages from ancient commentators which bear upon the points under discussion.

² Reichel, *Arch.-Epigr. Mitth. aus Oesterreich-Ungarn*, XVIII, 1895, pp. 6-12. His arguments are answered by Noack in *Strena Helbigiana*, pp. 215 ff.

³ Middleton, *J.H.S.* VII, 1886, p. 165, Fig. 4.

⁴ Gerlach, *Philologus*, XXX, 1870, p. 508 and Taf. II.

⁵ Dickins, *J.H.S.* XXIII, 1903, p. 326, Fig. 1; Holweerd, *Mnemosyne*, N.S. XV, 1887, p. 301.

⁶ Kammer, *Die Einheit der Odyssee*, p. 685, Professor Percy Gardner, *J.H.S.* III, 1883, p. 277, Chipiez, and Miss Stawell, in the works already referred to, and many others.

⁷ Hayman, Ameis-Hentze, and Professor Cauer, on χ 126; Jebb (Fig. 4).

Furthermore, ἀναβαίη is the natural expression for egress from the "lower" end of the hall. Those who would place the orsothyre towards the front of the megaron misinterpret the reference of τήν (vs. 129; see below).

(2) ἀκρότατον δὲ παρ' οὐδόν (vs. 127), "along past the highest part of the threshold." Many think this refers to the orsothyre, but it does not seem natural to describe the sill of a small rear door as "the threshold of the well-established hall." Others understand οὐδός as the foundation of the front wall of the megaron. There is no evidence in Homer for this meaning of the word. It seems to be rather the threshold of the main entrance. If so, it follows that (3) the ὁδός (vs. 128) is not through the orsothyre, as many have understood it to be, but in the prodomos (Fig. 7), and that the poet's thought has passed from the rear to the front of the hall at the beginning of vs. 128. The "way" by which one approached the "laure" was at the same level as the upper surface of the great door-stone: it, therefore, ran by the sill of ash, which may be regarded as the highest part of the threshold taken as a whole.

(4) τήν, κτλ. (vs. 129 f.). This is the stumbling-block of all who place the orsothyre at the front of the hall. They think this was the doorway which Odysseus told the swineherd to guard. But as the orsothyre, on other grounds, must be placed in the rear of the megaron, such an interpretation is impossible. Nor can the pronoun refer to λαύρη, for, among other reasons, Eumaeus stands, or is to stand, near it (vs. 130), and we shall see that he was also near Odysseus (vs. 163), who in turn was on the door-stone. Odysseus cannot mean that Eumaeus is merely to keep an eye on laure or orsothyre to see if anyone attempts a flank attack, for in that case the words, "standing near it," would have no force. Τήν must, therefore, refer to the ὁδός, which runs along the wall (Fig. 7) from the great door-stone on which Odysseus and Eumaeus are standing. The swineherd has only to place himself a little to the rear of Odysseus—if he is not already standing there—and he can not only guard against an attack from the direction of the laure, but also be in a position to aid Odysseus if the Suitors should try to force the main doorway. It follows that (5) μία δ' οἷη γίγνεται ἐφορμή (vs. 130) cannot mean that there was only one approach to the orsothyre from within the megaron, but that an enemy leaving the hall by the small door in the rear and reaching the laure, could not make a flank attack on one who was guarding the doorway at the end of the ὁδός (vs. 128 and

Fig. 7). In other words, the only exit from the laure for one coming from the direction of the orsothyre, was into the prodomos, and not, as in the traditional plan (cf. Figs. 4 and 5), into the courtyard. Hence (6) στόμα λαύρης (vs. 137) refers to the σανίδες εἰς ἀραρνύϊαι of vs. 128.

(7) αὐλῆς καλὰ θύρετρα (vs. 137). This "fair portal" has been variously identified as the door at the end of the laure, where the latter debouches into the courtyard; the outer gate of the courtyard;¹ the door between prodomos and aithousa,² and the doorway where Odysseus is standing.³ The last seems by far the most likely. Melanthius says in effect, that it is just as hard to send a messenger out by the orsothyre as it would be to force the main doorway, for the only exit *via* the orsothyre can be blocked easily by one man, and this exit is so near the main door of the hall that Odysseus could easily place one of his retainers there. It is true that the words might more naturally be applied to the outer gate, but against this can be urged with fairness that the αὐλειαί πυλαί of Soph. *Antigone*, 18, lead *into* the courtyard from the interior of the palace.⁴

(8) ἀνέβαινε Μελάνθιος . . . ἐς θαλάμους Ὀδυσῆος ἀνὰ ῥῶγας μεγάροιο (vss. 142-143). What were the ῥῶγες?⁵ The conclusive evidence offered by Professor Myres that ἀνά means "out from the rear of the hall" as well as "up," obviates the necessity of considering the suggestions that they were openings high up above the floor of the megaron, either in the clerestory, or between the rafters and the roof, or in the rear wall. The explanation offered by Protodikos, who equates the word with modern Greek ῥοῦγες, "short and narrow passageways,"⁶ satisfies the demands both of philology and of the situation.⁷

¹ See the note of Monro on the verse in question.

² So Professor Myres, who thinks that Melanthius feared the arrows of Odysseus for one who should try to cross the prodomos.

³ Ameis-Hentze on vs. 137.

⁴ If the words mean the outer gate, as Jebb in his note on the verse understands them, then there is a change of scene between the Prologos and the Parodos. This is unparalleled as well as unnecessary.

⁵ See Schenkl. *op. cit.*, for the ancient explanations, and Ameis-Hentze, *Anhang* on χ 143, for many modern conjectures.

⁶ *De Aedibus Homericis*, p. 58.

⁷ The folksong from the country near Cyzicus, cited by Jebb (*Introduction*, p. 185), is convincing. "A monster is chasing a princess:

στοὺς δρόμους τὴν κυνήγαγε,
μὲς τὴν αὐλὴν τὴν διώχρει,

Those who accept this interpretation agree in general that the ῥῶγες were reached from the orsothyre. But the question remains whether the passageways were the same as parts of the laurè, or different, and, if different, in what direction they ran. Jebb thinks, to the rear of the palace; Dickins, from the farther end of the laurè into the armory (Fig. 6, and *J.H.S.*, XXIII, pp. 332 f.). I think the word may well refer to a narrow and broken passageway leading from the orsothyre at the rear end of the hall to the laurè (Fig. 7), and that this corridor, on which it is generally agreed that the storerooms opened, ran at right angles to the long axis of the megaron (Fig. 7). Since this explanation differs essentially from any that has been proposed, we must consider the evidence at some length.

The view which is almost invariably held, that the storerooms were situated towards the rear of the main part of the palace, is not supported by any passage in the *Odyssey*,¹ nor have we good reason for placing them in the second story,² or underground.³ On the other hand, since the treasury was ἔσχατος (φ 9), we may infer that the storerooms were arranged in a series. The poet mentions three, the treasury, the armory, and the ὑπόροφος θάλαμος (β 337) wherein Eurycleia had her office. This con-

καὶ μὲς ταῖς ῥούγαις ταῖς στεναῖς
τοῦ παλατιοῦ τὴν φθάνει:

‘he hunts her to the streets, he pursues her into the court, and in the narrow passages of the palace he overtakes her.’”

¹ The statement of Dörpfeld (*Tiryns*, p. 242), that according to Homer the θάλαμοι were in the farthest recess of the palace (ἐν μυχῷ δόμον, cf. also Dickins, *op. cit.*, p. 332) lacks all authority, yet we can see, perhaps, how it came to be made. Alcinous and Arete, as well as two other royal pairs in the *Odyssey*, slept μυχῷ δόμον. Odysseus and his bride occupied a nuptial θάλαμος. This was therefore μυχῷ δόμον. Ergo, the other thalamoi were likewise μυχῷ δόμον. Dickins’ remark, *op. cit.* p. 332, on which he bases his location of the armory, that this chamber was μυχῷ δόμον, is due to a hasty reading of χ 180.

² Two passages have been relied on by those who hold this view. (1) χ 142-143, the verses discussed above. Here ἀνά need not mean “up.” (2) φ 1-63. When Penelope decides upon the contest of the bow she goes upstairs to get the key to the treasury (vss. 5-7), and the poet does not say that she came down again before she reached this storeroom (vs. 8). We may answer that neither does he say that she descended in carrying the bow to the Suitors (vs. 58). Since the formula is the same in both verses (βῆ δ’ ἵμεναι θαλαμὸνδε, and βῆ δ’ ἵμεναι μεγαρόνδε), we might argue in the same way that the great hall was in the second story!

³ κατὰ in the phrase ὑπόροφον θάλαμον κατεβήσεται (β 337, cf. ο 99) need not mean “down,” but rather “in” from an outer door.

tained wine, oil, and perhaps flour, as well as gold, bronze, and raiment (β 338–340, 354), and so would naturally have been rather near the entrance to the hall. We may place the armory somewhere between this storeroom and the treasury. Now it is to be noticed that Melanthius went, not ἐς θάλαμον, but ἐς θαλάμους, that is, the winding passage led to the series of storerooms, and not to the armory alone, as Dickins thinks.¹ But if the corridor—on

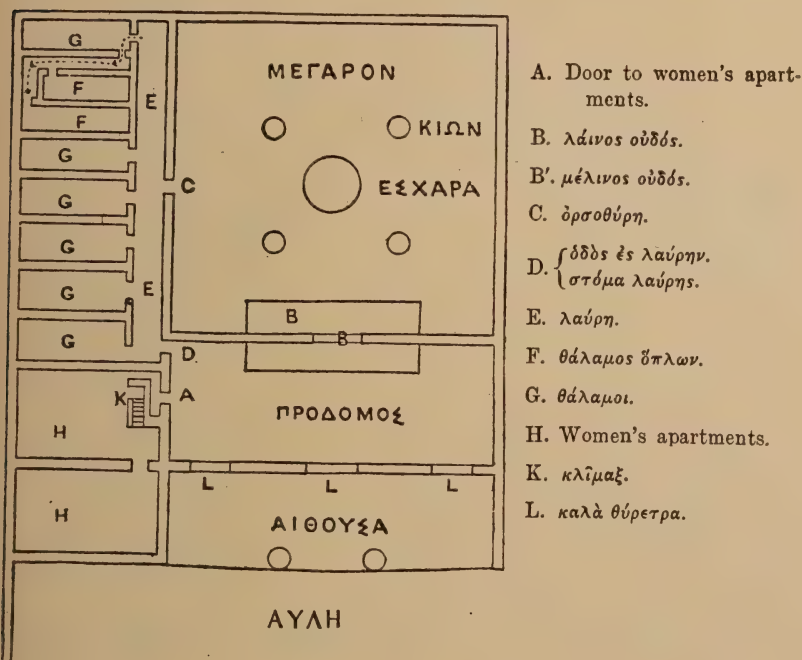


FIGURE 6.—THE PALACE OF ODYSSEUS: DICKINS.

which we may take it for granted that a series of storerooms would have opened—ran close to the side wall of the megaron, there

¹ See Fig. 6. It is true that for metrical reasons Homer sometimes uses the plural instead of the singular, but nowhere in *Iliad* or *Odyssey* is there a clear case of *θάλαμοι*=*θάλαμος*. Witte, *Singular und Plural*, p. 71, states that the singular of *θάλαμος* is used seventy times in the Homeric poems, and the plural for the singular only once, ψ 41, *μυχῶ θαλάμων εὐπήκτων*. But here it is reasonable to suppose that the women had withdrawn in terror to the corner of one of several rooms,—the one that was farthest from the megaron (so Hayman). In the *Hymn to Demeter*, 143, the same phrase may be taken in a similar way as referring to the last of a series of chambers.

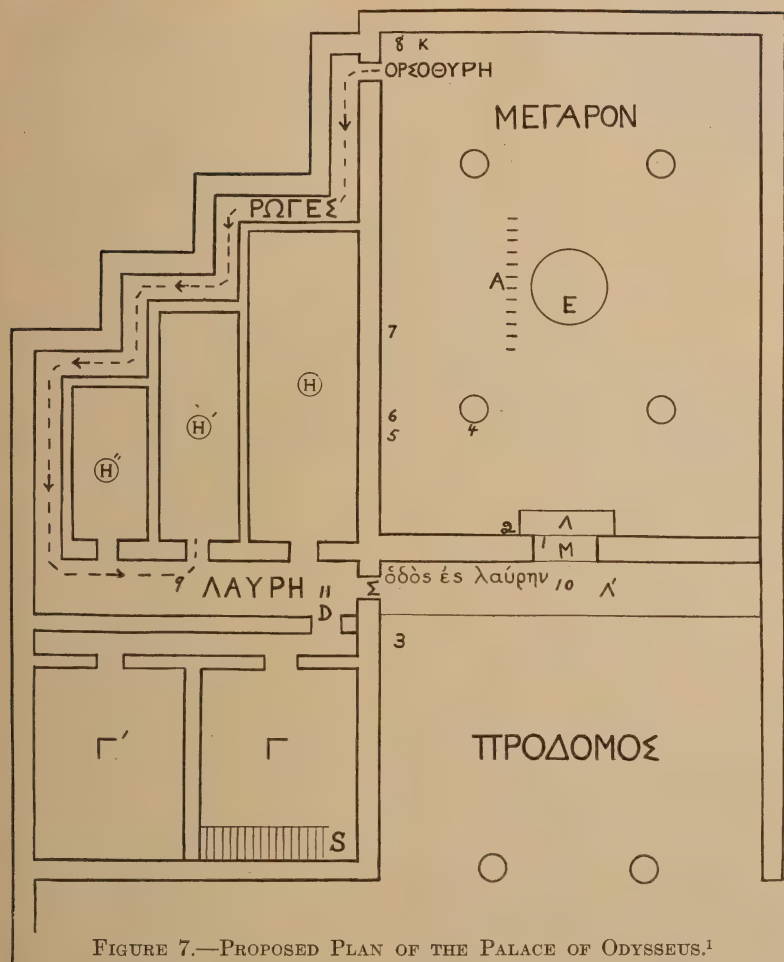
would have been no reason for using the ῥῶγες, and everything is against taking ῥῶγες and λαύρη as referring to the same passageway. I think, therefore, that we may regard the proposed arrangement of θάλαμοι, λαύρη, and ῥῶγες as entirely within the bounds of possibility. The last verses of the passage which we are discussing, show that it is also probable, and that it explains the action better than any other which has been suggested. At vs. 157 Odysseus bids Eumaeus go and shut the door of the armory, and see whether the traitor is one of the maids or Melanthius. As he was speaking (vs. 160), the goatherd went again for arms. Eumaeus caught sight of him, and said to Odysseus, *who was near him*, "There he goes." The poet does not say that Eumaeus had started for the armory when he saw the traitor. If he had already passed the στόμα λαύρης (Fig. 7, Σ)—as he must have done to look down a corridor running parallel to the long axis of the megaron—he would not have been near Odysseus when he spoke. Hence he must have been able to view the whole length of the laire from his position near Odysseus. The λαύρη, therefore, ran much as I have indicated it in Fig. 7.

The advantages of the arrangement of storerooms, corridor, and narrow passageway which I have suggested may be summed up as follows: The ῥῶγες are distinct from the λαύρη, and the use of the preposition ἀνά, the plural θαλάμους, and the phrase ἐγγὺς ἐόντα, are justified. This latter phrase, in fact, gives the key to the whole passage.

III.

If this interpretation of χ 126 ff. is accepted as probable, Dr. Leaf's location of the apartments of the women (Fig. 5, I) must be given up, for both the λαύρη and its στόμα must be placed differently. There remains the plan offered by Dickins (Fig. 6, H; see above, p. 293, note 1). This not only gives to the women the seclusion which is desirable, but if slightly modified (as in Fig. 7), has other advantages. If we suppose that there was a door opening on the corridor (Fig. 7, D) and giving access to the several rooms in which the women worked¹ from the queen's hyperoön above the thalamos which was nearest the prodomos and the courtyard (Fig. 7), Eurycleia can easily shut in the women before the slaughter (φ 387); she can likewise have ready access to her office in the ἐψόροφος θάλαμος (β 345f., Fig. 7, Θ). But above all, the nearness of the queen to the hall and its prodomos, which is

¹ Cf. the plan of the palace at Gha (Fig. 3, T, W.).

FIGURE 7.—PROPOSED PLAN OF THE PALACE OF ODYSSEUS.¹¹EXPLANATION OF PLAN.

Γ, Γ'. Women's Apartments.

S. Stairway leading to hyperoön.

D. Door to Women's Apartments closed by Eurycleia just before the slaughter (φ 387).

Θ. ὑψόροφος θάλαμος (β 337).

Θ'. θάλαμος δπλων (τ 17, χ 109, 140, κτλ.).

Θ''. θάλαμος ἔτχατος (φ 8f.).

A. The twelve axes (φ 76, 121f.).

E. ἐσχάρη.

K. The mixing-bowl (φ 145, χ 341).

Λ. λάνος οὐδός (ρ 30, υ 258, ψ 88).

Λ'. Stone platform level with the λάνος οὐδός, which is built into it; along this platform runs the ὁδὸς ἐς λαύρην (χ 128).

M. μέλινος οὐδός (ρ 339).

Ξ. στόμα λαύρης (χ 137).

The route of Melanthius from the megaron to the armory by way of orsothyre, rhoges, and laure is indicated by a broken line. The arabic

essential in several passages, is obtained. From the thalamos below Penelope can hear Telemachus sneeze when he is in the hall (ο 541 f.) and while seated in front of her door (Fig. 7, 11) she can catch the words spoken there (υ 387-389). When she is in her upper chamber,¹ not only can she note the theme of the bard's lay (α 328), but also her sobbing easily seems above the head of Odysseus, as he lies awake in the prodomos (υ 92-94; Fig. 7, 3).

Finality is not claimed for the new plan here offered (Fig. 7) of the palace of Odysseus. It rests in part, as all plans must, on conjecture. It is offered as a contribution towards a clearer understanding of the action of the *Odyssey*, especially of the twenty-second book. All future discussions must take into consideration Professor Myres' discovery of the meaning of ἀνὰ δῶμα, etc.

numerals indicate the positions of leading characters as described in some of the passages discussed in this article: 1. Odysseus sitting on the ashen threshold (ρ 339); 2. Odysseus during the contest of the bow (υ 257ff., φ 420); 3. Odysseus when, lying awake, he hears Penelope sobbing (υ 1ff., 92ff.); 4. Telemachus; 5. Antinous; 6. Eurymachus; 7. Amphinomus (cf. σ 394-398 and χ 89-100); 8. Leiodes (φ 145f.); 9. Melanthius about to enter the armory for the last time (χ 165f.); 10. Eumaeus when he catches sight of Melanthius (χ 162f.); 11. Penelope when, seated κατ' ἀντηστῖν (υ 387), she listens to the conversation in the megaron. But according to Jebb's interpretation of the phrase (*Introduction* [1887], p. 182, κατ' ἀντηστῖν = over against the hall), which is attractive, Penelope would sit on the stone platform, Δ', about where we have placed the figure 10.

The stone platform (Δ'), of which the stone threshold forms a part is due to a suggestion of the Editor of the *JOURNAL*. The Editor also suggested that the mixing-bowl would more naturally stand in the centre, rather than at the side, of the rear of the megaron. This is true; but in that case the orsothyre would be in the middle of the rear wall, and since this would imply rhoges leading also to the right and affording a second means of egress from the rear of the hall, I have decided to place the mixing-bowl as in the original sketch.

That the subsidiary apartments are placed on the left, rather than on the right of the hall is due to the fact that the above arrangement of rhoges and laire was suggested to me by the passageways at the left of the megaron at Tiryns. The bath and other apartments may well have been situated at the right.

¹ There would naturally have been window-like openings on the courtyard to give light and air to the hyperoön, and through these openings sounds might move from and towards the megaron and prodomos more readily than by way of the staircase and passageways. I am indebted for this suggestion to Professor Paul Baur, of Yale University. Several other friends of the writer have also made helpful suggestions and criticisms, which the writer takes this opportunity of acknowledging.

It is hoped that due regard will also be paid to the new evidence, which the present writer has pointed out in this article, that the chief actors are found in the front part of the hall, and to the proofs that the difficult passage, χ 126-166, becomes intelligible only if we recognize (1) that the orsothyre was at the rear of the hall, (2) that Eumaeus was ordered to guard the δῶς, and (3) that the phrase ἐγγὺς ἐόντα (vs. 166) is the cornerstone on which any satisfactory interpretation must rest.

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NOTICE.

Additional copies of Volume XX, No. 1 (January-March, 1916), of the JOURNAL are needed, as the supply in reserve is much reduced.

Members having copies of this number in good condition for which they have no further use, will confer a favor by sending them to the

GENERAL SECRETARY,

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INSTITUTE OF AMERICA,

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,

NEW YORK, N. Y.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL NEWS¹

NOTES ON RECENT EXCAVATIONS AND DISCOVERIES; OTHER NEWS

WILLIAM N. BATES, *Editor*

220, St. Mark's Square, Philadelphia, Pa.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

AN EXPEDITION TO THE NEAR EAST.—During the winter of 1919-20 the University of Chicago will send out an expedition to the Near East under the direction of Professor J. H. Breasted. Much time will be spent in Egypt, and in the spring the expedition will proceed to Beirut, then to Aleppo, then east to the Tigris and down this river by boat, up the Euphrates by caravan and back to Aleppo. The object is to determine the possibilities for archaeological work. (*News Letter*, University of Chicago, July 16, 1919.)

NECROLOGY.—Charles Bayet.—Born at Liège in 1849, Charles Bayet became a member of the École d'Athènes in 1873, lectured at Lyons, was Rector of the University at Lille, director of primary and later secondary instruction at Paris. He was the author of numerous articles and of two excellent manuals—*L'Art byzantin* (1883) and *Précis d'histoire de l'Art* (1886; new ed., 1905). He volunteered for active service in 1914 and became a lieutenant. He contracted a fever on the Macedonian front, which compelled him to return to France. He died at Toulon, September 17, 1918. (S. R., *R. Arch.* fifth series, VIII, 1918, pp. 339-341.)

Émile Guimet.—The director and founder of the museums which bear his name at Paris and at Lyons, Émile Guimet, was born at Lyons in 1836 and died at his château of Fleurieu-sur-Saône October 14, 1918. The son of a wealthy manufacturer, he was able to travel and to indulge his taste for music and the collection of objects pertaining to the religions of the East. Under his auspices the *Annales du Musée Guimet*, *Bibliothèque de vulgarisation*, *Bibliothèque d'art*, *Conférences Guimet*, and *Revue de l'histoire des religions* have been published. His own writings, monographs and articles are numerous. (S. R., *R. Arch.* fifth series, VIII, 1918, pp. 341-343.)

Sir John P. Mahaffy.—Sir John P. Mahaffy, Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, died April 30, 1919, at the age of eighty. Among his books are: *Social*

¹The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor BATES, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor C. N. BROWN, Miss MARY H. BUCKINGHAM, Dr. T. A. BUENGER, Dr. L. D. CASKEY, Professor HAROLD N. FOWLER, Professor HAROLD R. HASTINGS, Professor ELMER T. MERRILL, Professor LEWIS B. PATON, Professor A. S. PEASE, Professor S. B. PLATNER, Professor JOHN C. ROLFE, Dr. JOHN SHAPLEY, Professor ARTHUR L. WHEELER and the Editors, especially Professor MARQUAND.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after June 30, 1919.

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see pp. 99-100.

Life in Greece, Greek Life and Thought, The Greek World under Roman Sway, Rambles and Studies in Greece, Problems of Greek History, The Empire of the Ptolemies, and The Silver Age of the Greek World.

Jean de Mot.—Jean de Mot was born at Brussels August 26, 1876, and was killed by a shell October 5, 1918, after having been decorated with the *croix de guerre*. He was educated chiefly at Brussels, but studied also at the French School at Athens (1900–1901), and the universities of Berlin and Bonn. He was the author of many able articles, chiefly on Greek archaeology. As conservator in the Musée de Cinquante-naire at Brussels he helped to make that museum a scientific establishment of the first rank. (E. POTTIER, *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VIII, 1918, p. 344 f.)

GREECE

ARGOS.—**Unpublished Inscriptions.**—In *Mnemosyne*, XLVII, 1919, pp. 160–170, W. VOLGRAFF continues his publication of new Argive inscriptions (see *A. J. A.* 1905, pp. 107 f.; 475; 1910, pp. 103 f.; 371). They are: 1. A fragment of a treaty between the Argives and the Epidaurians. The adverb *ἀμφοτερεῖ*, not found elsewhere, is noteworthy. 2. A fragment containing a list of citizens or soldiers. 3. A squared stone inscribed with the words *ὦρος Ἑλλωτίου*, in letters of the fifth century B.C. This proves that the Cretan goddess *Ἑλλωτίς* had a shrine at Argos. It must have been located near the road to Mantinea not far from cross roads where remains of a building have been found. 4. Two inscriptions from the same base reading, (a) *Εὐβαίετος Εὐφάνεος· Καλλικράτης Ἀργεῖος*, (b) *Εὐκράτης[s] Εὐφά[νεος]*. *Ἀριστεὸς ἐποίησε*. 5. A fragment of fifteen lines, chiefly proper names, dating from the second or first century B.C. 6. An inscription in three lines, part of which was published in 1903. It reads *Σοῦκράτης Μενάνδρου ἀγορανομῶν καὶ γραμματέων καὶ ταμειῶν τὸ δεύτερον τὸ βῆμα τοῖς ἀγορανόμοις*. 7. Fragment of a decree in honor of P. Antei-us Antiochus. 8. Round statue base inscribed *Δαναὸν Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Ἀντίγονος*. 9. A dedication to Serapis and Isis. 10. A dedication of the third century B.C. reading *Ἀγαθοκλῆς, Θεῶν ἀνέθεταν*. 11. A fragment dating from the third century B.C. reading *ἰεῖα ἐν Χαλκίδι Ἀντιγονεία [ἀ]νεθέ[ταν]*. 12. Sepulchral inscription of the first century B.C. reading *Ἀσκληπιάδα, χαῖρε. Μεγιστῶ, χαῖρε*. 13. Epigram of Roman date. 14–18. Small fragments. 19. Rudely cut inscription of Roman date, *αἰπολήσεν ἑαυτῶ καὶ τῇ γυνεὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῖς εἰδίοις πεδελοῖς*. 20. Honorary decree of twenty lines more or less broken, dating from the second century B.C.

SALONICA.—**A Recent Find of Coins of Magna-Graecia.**—In 1916 a British soldier in Salonica dug up in a garden a recent hoard of coins that included with some modern specimens a few hundred of ancient date. Of especial interest among the latter was a homogeneous series of seventy-five didrachms of Metapontum, Heraclea, and Tarentum, from the fourth and early part of the third century B.C. These coins were brought to England, and came into the possession of Sir ARTHUR J. EVANS, who recognized them from some peculiarities of their period and condition as a part of the ancient hoard discovered in the neighborhood of Tarentum a few years earlier, from which the late Mr.

John Gordon Ford had procured a few specimens which he bequeathed to the British Museum. The two lots are now minutely described and classified by Sir Arthur Evans, with valuable comments on the history during the given period of the cities concerned. Several signatures of magistrates or mint-officials occur in the series which do not seem to have been previously recorded, and the new find "supplies a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the types and chronology of a series of coins that have hitherto received little attention from numismatists" (*Num. Chron.* 1918, pp. 133-154; 2 pls.)

ITALY

DISCOVERIES IN ITALY IN 1918.—In the *Nation*, May 10, 1919, pp. 744 f. is a summary of the report of Mrs. A. S. STRONG published in the London *Times* on the archaeological discoveries made in Italy during the past year. These include the so-called "Victory" (see *A. J. A.* XXII, 1918, p. 347) found on the Palatine embedded in the foundations of the dungeon of the Frangipani. A few yards south, on the line of the Clivus Sacer, foundations supposed to have belonged to one of the triumphal arches of Domitian have been uncovered. On the Aventine, part of the brickwork of an ancient building with a barrel vault has come to light. The only wall now preserved has painted decoration consisting of a red dado four feet high above which are three vertical panels, each holding a female figure. In the centre panel Aphrodite appears rising from the sea, in the one at the right a goddess is being presented with a cloth of some sort, but the scene in the left hand panel is too faint to be identified. In lowering the level of a courtyard in the Via degli Avignonesi a small collection of sculpture hidden in antiquity was discovered. It consisted of a fine nude male torso, a draped torso, a herm with the head of a young man, a small bearded head, and a head of Athena. At the Marmorata, on the left bank of the Tiber, an important series of store houses was discovered. Close to San Paolo outside the walls, to the left of the road to Ostia, a large cemetery was found (*A. J. A.* XXII, p. 347). The wall-paintings in the tombs are of no particular importance. The best executed represents Hermes conducting Alcestitis to Hades. Another cemetery was found between the Via Po and the Via Gregorio Allegri (*A. J. A.* XXII, p. 79). It is interesting as showing how later tombs cut into and across earlier ones, and how they were frequently altered and readapted. The most important discovery here was the large Hellenistic relief put together from thirty-four fragments (*A. J. A.* XXII, p. 79). The work of freeing the little temple of Fortuna Virilis has begun. In the Golden House of Nero beautiful paintings in perfect preservation, but on a small scale, were discovered. One series consists of small panel pictures with figures relieved against a deep blue background and with traces of gilding. No large paintings were found.

ALBA.—A Latin Inscription.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 94-95 PIETRO BAROCELLI publishes a Latin inscription, apparently dating from the second century A.D. It was found about four miles southeast of the town of Alba in Liguria.

AMENO.—Tombs of the First Iron Age.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 81-84 PIETRO BAROCELLI reports the discovery of several pre-Roman tombs,

apparently belonging to the first Iron Age, in the commune of Ameno in the Transpadine region. They contained pottery and a few bronze ornaments.

BERCHIDDA.—Denarii of the Republican Period.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 155–163 A. TARAMELLI describes a hoard of denarii of the Roman republican period, found in 1918 near Berchidda in Sardinia. The coins, 1398 in number, represent 87 Roman families and 133 individuals. They date from 268–82 B.C., and are for the most part in an excellent state of preservation. Some of them, however, are defective, being stamped upon one side only.

BESANO.—A Hoard of Coins.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 92–93 G. PATRONI reports the discovery of a hoard of Roman coins at Besano in the Transpadine region. It included eight silver pieces and 174 of bronze, extending from Tiberius to the younger Philip (244–249). The only rare coin was a Gallic imitation of a sestertius of Marcus Aurelius.

CASTEL DI SANGRO.—Latin Inscriptions.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 142–144 (3 figs.) V. BALZANO publishes five fragmentary Latin inscriptions from Castel di Sangro in the Samnite region.

COLOGNOLA AI COLLI.—A Villa Rustica.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 102–103 G. PELLEGRINI gives an account of tombs and ruins of Roman buildings, discovered at Colognola ai Colli, about 16 km. east of Verona. The walls apparently belong to a *villa rustica*, and the coins which were found indicate the third and fourth centuries of our era as the time of its greatest prosperity.

ESTE.—Roman Antiquities.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 100–102 (2 figs.) G. PELLEGRINI describes Roman antiquities found at Este, including a small bronze bust, 9 cm. in height, made to attach to a piece of furniture. It represents a youth in a Phrygian cap, perhaps Attis or Paris.

FINALPIA.—Pre-Roman Pottery.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 95–96 PIETRO BAROCELLI reports the discovery of pre-Roman pottery at Finalpia in the Transpadine region.

GALLIATE.—A Roman Necropolis.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 84–88. (fig.) PIETRO BAROCELLI reports the discovery at Galliata in the Transpadine region of a Roman necropolis, evidently that of a village inhabited by farmers of no great wealth. Coins were found of Augustus, Germanicus, Vespasian, and Domitian, and others which belonged to the second and third centuries of our era.

INTROBIO.—A Gallic Tomb.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, p. 91 G. PATRONI gives notice of the discovery in August, 1917, of a Gallic tomb at Introbio in the Transpadine region, containing vases, weapons, and armor. He will publish the find in the next number of *Rivista Archeologica di Como*.

MORLUPO.—An Inscription from the Via Flaminia.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 127–128 P. ROMANELLI publishes a funerary cippus found near the twentieth mile (*ad Vigesium*) of the Via Flaminia, containing the name of a "*Rutaenus ex Aquitanica*."

NOCERA-UMBRA.—A Sepulcretum.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 103–123 (14 figs.) E. STEFANI gives an account of the excavation of an ancient Umbrian sepulcretum at Nocera-Umbra, with remarks on the topography of the region. The tombs date from the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. The most important objects found were removed to the Museum of the Villa Giulia.

OSTIA.—Recent Excavations.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 128–138 (2 figs.) R. PARIBENI gives an account of the work at Ostia from October 1917 to March 1918 inclusive. The continued excavation of the so-called *macellum* (*Not. Scav.* 1916, pp. 323–326) has led to the conclusion that it is more properly designated as *horrea*. A number of inscriptions are given, one of which mentions *Silvanus iuvenis*, while another, in a fragmentary condition, seems to be an eulogium of Ancus Marcius, the founder of Ostia. At the corner of the Via delle Pistrine and the Decumanus a small temple has been discovered, elevated above the level of the streets. On a republican foundation a later building was reared, which imitated the architecture of the neighboring "Four Temples," but was considerably later.

POGGIO SOMMAVILLA.—A Female Portrait.—The National Museum in Rome has recently acquired a marble head accidentally discovered by a peasant not far from Poggio Sommavilla. The head, which is in a fair state of preservation, is larger than life and from the cutting of the neck was once inserted in a statue. It is the portrait of a woman and shows well the skill retained by the Roman sculptors of the middle of the third century amid the general decadence of art. The subject is unidentified, but it is probably not an empress. (*Pagine d'Arte*, VI, 1918, p. 135; fig.)

PORNASSO.—A Tomb of the First Iron Age.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 96–100 (3 figs.) PIETRO BAROCELLI describes the objects found in a tomb in the commune of Pornasso in 1914, including a vase of peculiar form, with a double rim, bronze chains, rings, and fibulae, belonging to the end of the first Iron Age.

RIVOLI.—An Inscription with New Gallo-Roman Names.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, p. 90 (fig.) PIETRO BAROCELLI publishes an inscription in the museum at Turin, which was found near the church of S. Martino at Rivoli. It contains new Gallo-Roman names.

ROME.—Miscellaneous Discoveries.—The usual discoveries of architectural and sculptural fragments, foundations, walls, and inscriptions, accidentally made during various building operations in Rome are reported by LUIGI CONTARELLI, *B. Com. Rom.* XLV, 1917, pp. 220–242. The following may be noted: A portrait head of the third century A.D. in Greek marble, the head of a child also in Greek marble, and a group of four sepulchral monuments along the ancient Via Statilia in the Villa Wolkonsky-Campanari. They date from the end of the republican period and are in the form of small chambers built of blocks of tufa. Three of them bear inscriptions showing that they were the tombs of freedmen of the Clodii, Annii, Quinctii, etc.; the fourth is much dilapidated. One chamber has three portrait busts carved on the façade, another has two. All of the tombs were originally used for humation but later received cremated bodies.

A Marble Cippus.—In *B. Com. Rom.* XLV, 1917, pp. 93–102 L. MARIANI describes a marble cippus in the form of an altar found in the course of building operations in the Piazza Campo Marzio and reerected near the place where it was discovered. Though executed in the first century its decorations of garlands, ribbons, and bucrania are poorly done. There is a hollow for the reception of the urn and traces of forcible opening. The monument was probably brought to the Campus Martius in the Middle Ages together with other second-hand material found nearby and formed part of the stock of a marble workshop.

The Proceedings of the Commissione Archeologica Comunale.—The 'Atti della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma' published in *B. Com. Rom.* XLV, 1917, pp. 247–250 give a short account of the activity of that body during the years 1916 and 1917.

SANGANO.—Two New Inscriptions.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, p. 91 PIETRO BAROCELLI publishes two fragmentary Roman inscriptions, found near the ruins of the old abbey of S. Solutore at Sangano in the Transpadine region.

VELLETRI.—Via Mactorina.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 138–141 (2 figs.) O. NARDINI publishes a Latin inscription found about five kilometers south of the town of Velletri, near the Via Appia. It belongs to the first century A.D. and mentions a *Via Mactorina*, which was repaired by L. Octavius Onesimus.

ZOVERALLO.—A New Tomb.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 88–90 PIETRO BAROCELLI reports the discovery of a new tomb in the Roman necropolis of Zoverallo in the Transpadine region. He also publishes an inscription from the same necropolis, which was found in 1838, but has not yet been included in the *C.I.L.*

SPAIN

BOLONIA.—Excavations in 1918.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 347–356 (fig.) P. PARIS reports upon his excavations at Bologna in 1918 (see *A.J.A.* XXIII, 1918, p. 84). The house found in 1917 was completely cleared and two large hand mills found in it. At the north end were two deep pits and a room for salting fish. On the other side of the main street, which was followed to its end, was another house like the first having painted decoration and many graffiti. It was here that the small bronze of a satyr carrying off a woman came to light. The cemetery was partly explored, but nothing unusual found in it. Many rude figures which had once stood over the graves were unearthed.

FRANCE

ALESIA.—A Bust of Tutela.—In *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.* 1917, pp. 103–107 J. TOUTAIN describes a bust found in a well at Alesia in 1914. It is in very high relief and represents a draped woman wearing a crown of towers. The face has distinct individuality. She is the Gallic goddess Tutela, and this discovery at Alesia shows that not only large cities but also small towns placed themselves under her protection.

NORTHERN AFRICA

CARTHAGE.—A Seventh Century Tomb.—In *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.* 1917, pp. 109–115 (2 figs.) A. MERLIN reports upon the contents of a tomb found at Carthage in 1916 and dating from the seventh century B.C. It was covered with slabs which lay 3.50 m. below the modern surface. It contained 1. a silver ring with a scarab of blue faience on pivots for the bezel. This had carved upon it the figure of a standing man grasping a bull by one horn. 2. There was also found an ivory comb, 5 cm. by 10.1 cm., (Fig. 1). Above the

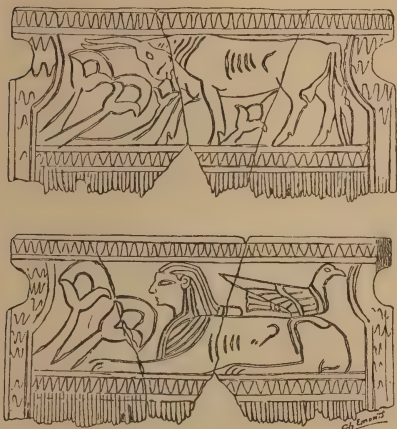


FIGURE 1.—IVORY COMB: CARTHAGE.

resembling the one described have been found in Spain. Both must have had the same origin which was probably Phoenician.

CYRENAICA.—Excavations in 1916.—In *Cron. B.A.V.*, 1918, pp. 29–32 (2 figs.) L. MARIANI summarizes the results of the excavations at the Baths at Cyrene where the statues of Aphrodite, Alexander, the Graces, and Eros were previously found. The most important piece of sculpture discovered was a standing Hermes (Fig. 2), a Roman copy of a bronze original by Polyclitus. This throws some light on the problem of the Idolino, which Mariani thinks may be the work of followers of Polyclitus who were influenced by Attic art. Other discoveries were the statue of a dancer, an Alexandrian work; a satyr used for a fountain decoration; a small satyr; a statue of Zeus Aegiochus found in a temple of the acropolis and dating from the time of Hadrian. The god is represented nude, leaning on his sceptre, with his thunderbolt in his right hand, while the eagle stands on the ground beside him. The type is familiar, but the proportions of the figure indicate a fourth century date. It is attributed to a certain Zenion, son of Zenion. At Tripolis the town wall was torn down and various discoveries made. The best piece of sculpture brought to light was the torso of Apollo of fine finish. The god was represented in repose with his lyre resting on a support and his right hand which holds the plectrum hanging by his side. The style is that of Praxiteles. Remains of buildings were also uncovered. (See also the same writer, *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, XXVII, 1918, pp. 125–138; 3 figs.)

teeth there is engraved on one side the figure of a sphinx with a bird perched on its back, reclining in front of two large lotus blossoms. On the other side of the comb a bull advances to the left toward some lotus flowers. 3. An ivory statuette, 16 cm. high, was also brought to light. It represents a standing goddess with an Egyptian headdress fully draped and holding her bosom with both hands. The face is flat, the eyes large, the body cylindrical, and the whole figure primitive. It was perhaps used for the handle of a mirror. Similar objects of ivory have been found at Carthage before. Combs



FIGURE 2.—POLYCLITAN HERMES: CYRENE.

GHARDIMAOU.—Temples of Saturn.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 338–347 (2 figs.) Dr. CARTON records the discovery at a place called Bir-Derbal near the village of Ghardimaou, Tunisia, of remains of a villa and three small buildings which were probably temples of Saturn. In the villa were found mosaic floors, one of which depicted a boar hunt. One of the temples measured 6.75 m. by 2.75 m. and had two niches at the rear. These originally held life-size statues of terracotta and many statuettes, most of which had been destroyed. One life-size head had the face of a lioness with fillets about the head, and evidently represented the *Genius Terrae Africae*. There were also found coins of Vespasian and seven votive stelae, one bearing a dedication to Saturn. About 20 m. away are remains of a second small building with numerous fragments of terracotta statuettes, and still further off a third building. An inscription indicates that they date from the second century A.D.

MADURA.—The *Hastiferi* of Bellona.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 312–323 F. CUMONT publishes a Latin inscription found in the ruin of the Byzantine fort at Madura, Numidia, in 1918. It is a dedication to the genius of the *hastiferi* of Virtus, *i.e.* Mâ or Bellona, and dates from the end of the first or beginning of the second century A.D. These *hastiferi* formed a religious society dedicated to the cult of Bellona-Virtus. Cumont thinks they played a part similar to that of the *dendrophori* of the Magna Mater, *i.e.* the former carried lances in the same processions in which the latter carried the pine of Attis.

UNITED STATES

BOSTON.—Fragment of a Relief of the Fifth Century.—In *B. Mus. F. A.* XVII, 1919, p. 29 (2 figs.) L. D. C(ASKEY) calls attention to a marble head



FIGURE 3.—FRAGMENT OF A RELIEF: BOSTON.

of a warrior about three and one-half inches in length recently acquired by the Museum of Fine Arts (Fig. 3). It dates from the second half of the fifth century B.C. and belonged to a relief. In style and size it agrees with the figures of the frieze of the temple of Wingless Victory at Athens to which the writer would assign it. It does not, however, fit on to any of the existing bodies. The head is said to have been purchased in Athens twenty years ago.

NEW YORK.—Acquisitions of the Metropolitan Museum.—In the *Forty-ninth Annual Report* of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, 1919, p. 15 it is announced that the Museum acquired during the year besides the vases and the Medusa relief mentioned below, two pairs of Etruscan gold earrings, two small amulet cases, and a Cypriote barrel jug. Several important purchases made in Europe have not yet reached the United States.

Three New Greek Vases.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIV, 1919, pp. 8–10 (3 figs.) Miss G. M. A. R(ichter) describes three Greek vases recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. One is a red-figured stamnos of the early part of the fifth century B.C. decorated on one side with a scene representing Eos pursuing Cephalus, while an aged man looks on; and on the other side with a young warrior and two female figures. The second is a black-figured cylix delicately made. The exterior is without decoration, but the interior is adorned with a sphinx. The vase is said to have been found in Rhodes. The third is a fine example of a proto-Corinthian lecythus. In the principal band of decoration are depicted warriors in combat and sphinxes.

A Medusa Head.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIV, 1919, pp. 59–60 (2 figs.) Miss G. M. A. R(ichter) publishes a bronze relief representing the head of Medusa. Two serpents twine their tails below her chin and two small wings appear among the flying locks of her hair. This bronze once decorated the end of a chariot pole.

An Early Egyptian Portrait.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIV, 1919, pp. 148–149 (fig.) A. M. L(ythgoe) announces the acquisition by the Metropolitan Museum of the upper part of a statuette of a man of the fifth or sixth dynasty. The figure was probably seated but is now broken away at the waist. It is a fine example of Egyptian portraiture of the Old Kingdom.

A Group of Sculpture from Assiut.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIV, 1919, pp. 32–35 (2 figs.) H. E. W(inlock) discusses a group carved in white limestone 2 ft. 10 in. high, recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. It was found at Assiut in 1913 during the excavation of the tomb of a certain Amen-hotep and represents his son, Iny, and daughter-in-law, Rennut, seated side by side. On the back of the group is an inscription. Reliefs from the tomb and a life-size statue of Iny discovered at the same time are now in the museum at Assiut. Iny was the royal administrator of the priesthood at Assiut in the latter part of the eighteenth or first part of the nineteenth dynasty, and a man of prominence in his community.

A Jewish Amulet.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIV, 1919, pp. 94–95 (fig.) Miss G. M. A. R(ichter) calls attention to a Jewish amulet of the Roman period recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. It is of thin bronze foil, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and $1\frac{5}{8}$ inches high, and was originally rolled to fit into a small cylindrical bronze case. The whole surface of the foil is covered with an Aramaic inscription in twelve lines. It is said to have been found at Irbid in the Hauran, Syria.

A Chinese Tablet of the Wei Period.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIV, 1919, pp. 90-92 (2 figs.) S. C. B. R(ERTZ) publishes a bronze votive tablet recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. On the front side the Buddha Sakyamuni appears in the attitude of expounding the law with Ananda and Kasyapa on either side of him. All three figures are standing on lotus flowers. Above are six angels playing musical instruments; between them is a dragon, and at the top two angels carrying the elixir of life in a vase. On the reverse side is a Buddhistic scene and a long inscription, dated in the year 534 A.D. The stone is 61 inches high and 38 inches wide.

EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE, MEDIAEVAL AND RENAISSANCE ART

PALESTINE

DEIR DAKLEH.—A Recently Discovered Mosaic.—An Early Christian tessellated mosaic discovered at Deir Dakleh and drawn by Capt. F. M. DRAKE (Fig. 4) is described in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIV, 1919, pp. 144-145 (pl.). The marble of the pavement is the same as that found at Shellal and Umm Jerar—all of it must have been imported from Greece. The foundation, however, at Deir Dakleh is more extensive and consequently more interesting than are those previously found during operations.



FIGURE 4.—MOSAIC PAVEMENT: DEIR DAKLEH.

UMM JERAR.—A Sixth Century Mosaic.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIV, 1919, pp. 3–10 (2 pls.) O. M. DALTON writes on the tessellated pavement discovered in 1917 at Umm Jerar. Because of its similarity to the Shellal pavement, which bears in its inscription the date 561–562, and because of its similarity to other works of this time, the Umm Jerar pavement is probably to be dated in the middle of the sixth century. Like the Shellal pavement, it has been the floor of a small church or chapel. The mosaics are arranged in panels corresponding to the parts of the church which they adorned, and their designs consist of geometrical forms and symbolic animals.

ITALY

AREZZO.—Was Majolica Made in Arezzo?—In *Faenza*, VI, 1918, pp. 19–23 are published documents which A. DEL VITA offers as proof of the existence of



FIGURE 5.—BYZANTINE STANDARD: AVELLANA.

majolica factories in Arezzo in the fourteenth to sixteenth centuries. The discovery of fragments of the ware in recent excavations in the arena of the Roman amphitheatre of Arezzo adds weight to the proof. U. PASQUI (*ibid.* pp. 66–70) denies the existence of majolica factories in Arezzo, first, because the few names of ceramists recorded do not imply any greater number than the everyday use of pottery would call for; second, because the abundance of remains bears witness only to the size of the town, not to its native industries; third, because the products known to be Aretine are not majolica and are of no local type or artistic importance; and fourth, because no tradition or chronicler records a local manufacture. The actual majolica found in excavations is held to be imported.

AVELLANA.—A Byzantine Naval Standard.—A Byzantine naval standard of the end of the fourteenth or beginning of the fifteenth century (Fig. 5),

now in the Monastery of S. Croce, Avellana, is published by L. SERRA, *Burl. Mag.* XXXIV, 1919, pp. 152-157 (pl.). It consists of a crimson silk cloth with designs in embroidery, principally in gold thread. The iconography of the subject matter, which represents the archangel Michael and Emanuel Paleologos, is largely drawn from miniatures.

BOLOGNA.—Mediaeval Architectural Ceramics.—A singular edifice at the corner of the Via Manzoni and the Via di Porta Castello in Bologna is described and its history traced by G. BALLARDINI in *Faenza*, VI, 1918, pp. 1-4 (5 figs.). Erected at the end of the thirteenth century by Alberto Conoscenti for his home, it is one of the oldest monuments of Gothic architecture in Bologna. The ceramic decoration is most interesting. It consists of bowls or basins, one set in the arched tympanum over each of the six biforium windows of the second story of the house, the windows that light the great salon. Apparently, these bowls are majolica, *i.e.*, ceramic covered with "*smalto stannifero*" although this was little used. The designs of the basins, geometrical in form and varying among themselves, are illustrated in the accompanying figures.

FLORENCE.—New della Robbia Documents.—In *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 190-209 R. G. MATHER publishes a large number of documents relating to the members of the della Robbia family. Some of these documents were known to Gaetano Milanese, who referred to them but without publishing the text. (See A. MARQUAND, *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, pp. 310-318; 361-377.)

MONTE ASDRUALDO.—Bramante's Birthplace.—Data in regard to the much disputed birthplace of Bramante are given by A. VENTURI in *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 210-219. Besides other valuable documents, a notarial deed made by Bramante himself in 1492 gives his birthplace as Monte Asdrualdo. Among those under whose influence the artist came in his early formative years, Luciano Laurana, the architect who was continuing the traditions of Brunellesco and Alberti, was the most significant for Bramante. Analysis of the latter's architectural productions shows the reflection of Luciano's characteristics. In Urbino the Palazzo Passionei and the church of San Bernardino are said to have been built by Bramante in the early years of his life, before he left that region. These edifices bear out the statement just made as to Luciano's influence. San Bernardino was built, apparently, between the years 1467 and 1472, *i.e.*, while Luciano was working on the ducal palace.

PERUGIA.—Pietro Vannucci's Perugian Citizenship.—In *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 120-121 U. GNOLI publishes a document which proves what has always been taken for granted, but has previously been without documentary proof, namely, that Pietro di Cristoforo from Castel della Pieve was granted the citizenship of Perugia. The date of the concession was 1485.

ROME.—A Portrait by Pisanello.—In *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 277-278 (fig.) A. VENTURI publishes a profile portrait of a man in the Capitoline Museum. The subtle color and especially the clearcut drawing serve to place the portrait in the series of works attributed to Pisanello.

A Memento of Pope Paul II.—In *Cron. B. A. V.*, 1918, pp. 32-35 (fig.) C. GRADARA publishes a leather writing desk which was recently found by the director of the museum of the Vatican Palace and which originally belonged to Pope Paul II. (1464-1471). It bears the escutcheon of Barbo, the Pope's family, and is a fine example of work in the minor arts in the fifteenth century. The work is clearly by an Italian artist, Roman or Florentine.

SIENA.—An Annunciation by Gerolamo da Cremona.—In *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 141-143 (3 figs.) P. TOESCA publishes a hitherto un-attributed painting of the Annunciation in the Academy of Fine Arts, Siena. That it is the work of Gerolamo da Cremona is shown by its peculiar combination of Lombard and Mantegnesque characteristics that may be seen in other of Gerolamo's productions, *e.g.*, his miniatures in a codex of the Cathedral of Mantua.

SULMONA.—The Bust of Panfilo.—A little known work but one which serves to affirm the importance of the school of the Sulmonese goldsmiths in the fifteenth century is the bust of Panfilo in the Cathedral of Sulmona, published by P. PICCIRILLI in *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 116-119 (6 figs.). The bust is the work of Giovanni di Marino di Cicco de Argerio and was made in 1458-59. The exquisite designs skilfully worked on the drapery and on the crosier are especially noteworthy.

SPAIN

MADRID.—A Holy Family by Pedro de Moya.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVII, 1919, pp. 62-63 (pl.) N. S. publishes a Holy Family by Pedro de Moya (Fig. 6), which is of interest for the clear way in which it reveals the character of Moya's art. The general effect of the picture is that of a Van Dyck. Pedro de Moya actually went to England because Van Dyck was there; yet the St. Joseph is clearly Spanish. In spite of the points of comparison with Ruben's Holy Family in the Sanssouci Gallery, Potsdam, and that in the Royal Gallery, Windsor, the individuality of the Spanish artist, for all his Flemish imitation, is shown by comparison with the six pictures in the Prado representing the History of Joseph.

PLASENCIA.—Two Retables.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVII, 1919, pp. 56-61 (2 pls.) J. R. MELIDA publishes two retables composed of glazed tile of Talavera in two churches at Plasencia. One is a retable of Saints Crispus and Crispinianus with many subjects in its panels, in San Lazaro. It dates from 1590 if the date 159— can be so read; certainly it cannot be dated in 1509, as some have suggested, for its style is that of the end of the sixteenth century. The other retable is that of the sacristy of the old convent of Santo Domingo. It is a long frieze with a great Crucifixion in the middle and dates from the second half of the sixteenth century.

SEVILLE.—Ceramic Art.—A posthumous study by J. GESTOSO of the history of the ceramists' art in Seville is published in memory of its author in *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVII, 1919, pp. 2-19 (4 pls.).

FRANCE

PARIS.—Two Flemish Primitives in the Louvre.—Two important Flemish paintings, one by Jerome Bosch, the other by Peter Bruegel, recently presented to the Louvre by M. Camille Benoit are discussed by L. DEMONTS in *Gaz. B.-A.* XV, 1919, pp. 1-20 (pl.; 3 figs.). The one by Bosch represents the Ship of Fools. It was inspired by the popular book by Sebastian Brant, *Das Narrenschiff*, published in 1494. Both the date of the book and the style of the painting place the latter in the late fifteenth century as one of the works of Bosch's maturity. The painting by Bruegel, which portrays a winter scene,



FIGURE 6.—HOLY FAMILY BY PEDRO DE MOYA: MADRID.

is also a mature work and shows Bruegel carrying on and developing the naturalistic side of Bosch's style.

GREAT BRITAIN

BACTON.—*Queen Elizabeth's Kirtle.*—A kirtle, which has been adapted as a covering for a communion table in Bacton Church, Herefordshire, is published by L. CUST (*Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 196-201; pl.) as an example of the rich embroidery work of the time of Queen Elizabeth. The piece, which is covered with realistically treated flowers and animals in embroidery, was presented to the church by one of Queen Elizabeth's ladies-in-waiting, but it is probable that it originally belonged to the queen herself.

LONDON.—Recent Acquisitions of the National Gallery.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIV, 1919, pp. 15–23 (3 pls.) R. FRY discusses the recent acquisitions of the National Gallery. The most important are works of French painters of the nineteenth century, a painting by Masaccio (published *ibid.* XX, 1911, p. 70) and a small head by El Greco. Less important are an Adoration of the Magi by Bramantino and an altarpiece by Pesellino.

Recent Acquisitions of the British Museum.—Among the objects acquired by the National collections in 1918 the following are mentioned in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIV, 1919, pp. 59–62: Some Anglo-Saxon brooches and glass vessels from a group of graves at Bridge, in the neighborhood of Canterbury; an unusual fifteenth century Italian casket with the side panels of carved ivory; a Swiss bridal casket of the sixteenth century; and many important prints of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries and later.

Bernardo da Parenzo.—A small panel recently acquired by the National Gallery and which has borne the name of Francesco Mantegna is discussed by



FIGURE 7.—THIRTEENTH CENTURY EMBROIDERY: BRITISH MUSEUM.

C. J. HOLMES in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 195–196 (pl.) The painting represents the Adoration of the Shepherds and evinces all the characteristics of Bernardo da Parenzo, whose connection with Mantegna, and particularly with the Downton Castle Adoration is nowhere so clear as in this picture.

Thirteenth Century Embroidery.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIV, 1919, pp. 140–145 (pl.) A. VALLANCE describes a piece of thirteenth century silk and gold embroidery (Fig. 7) recently acquired by the British Museum. It has been labelled "Spanish" but is now recognized as *opus Anglicanum*. The subjects represented are the Annunciation, the Visitation, and the Nativity.

An Icon Illustrating a Greek Hymn.—An Italianate-Greek icon, said to have come from a church in the island of Santorin (Thera) is discussed by M. ADEY in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIV, 1919, pp. 45–55 (3 pls.). It now belongs to Mr. C. J. Hope-Johnston. Some of the twenty-four scenes, e.g. the three repetitions of the Annunciation, painted on this small wooden panel baffled explanation until Miss Carthew showed that the series is interpreted by the verses of the alphabetical hymn called 'Ο Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος. The painting is apparently to be dated in the late seventeenth century.

RICHMOND.—A New Spanzotti.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, p. 208 (pl.) H. Cook adds another painting to the restricted list of works by Martino Spanzotti, the teacher of Sodoma and of other painters of the Vercellese school. The painting is in the collection of Sir Frederick Cook and represents the Madonna and Child. It has formerly been assigned to the school of Foppa, but its signature, M. F., is apparently to be interpreted, as in another of Spanzotti's panels, *Martinus fecit*.

UNITED STATES

BOSTON.—Print Accessions of the Boston Museum.—The Boston Museum of Fine Arts has recently acquired seven prints from the *magnum opus* of Israhel van Meckenem, the "Large Passion," engraved about 1480; also fourteen from the "Small Passion" (1475?). All are first states and come from the Huth collection. Van Meckenem owed most to Master E. S., "the Van Eyck of engraving"; and by this master the museum has recently acquired through the gift of Paul J. Sachs a signed impression of "The Saviour," dated 1467, from the Wilton House collection. Among other important prints of recent accession are Van Dyck's etched portrait of the Baron LeRoy, also from the Wilton House collection, and a number of fifteenth and early sixteenth century German, Netherlandish, and Italian prints. (*B. Mus. F. A.* XVII, 1919, pp. 7-8; 2 figs. and pp. 14-17; 6 figs.)

Early French Sculptures in the Boston Museum.—Three alabaster statuettes of the fifteenth century in France are published by G. in *B. Mus. F. A.* XVII, 1919, pp. 1-3 (3 figs.). Each represents a saint, probably from a group on the back of an altar. They are said to have come from Amiens and have been attributed to Philippe de Bourgogne, a French *imagier*, who helped adorn the cathedrals of Spain. A beautiful group of the Madonna and Child, probably modelled from life, is said to have stood originally in a church in Lorraine, and its date must be in the fourteenth century. A Pietà from the sixteenth century school of Champagne, still bearing its original paint, shows a combination of a fourteenth century conception with sixteenth century technique. It presents a Gothic art grown conscious of itself. (*Ibid.* pp. 10-13, 5 figs.)

CLEVELAND.—French Gothic Sculpture.—In the *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, VI, 1919, pp. 6-15 (5 figs.) W. M. M. publishes five French Gothic sculptures recently purchased. A figure of a prophet, of the middle of the twelfth century, which was originally in a series decorating a porch of a church, is supposed to have come from the neighborhood of Rheims. A representation of a Donatrix belongs to the fourteenth century. The Christ Child, a fragment from a life-sized statue of the Virgin and Child, is also of the fourteenth century; and a polychrome statue of the Virgin and Child in a much more realistic style belongs to the fifteenth century. All four of these pieces are of stone. The fifth, representing the Virgin, is polychromed wood and is the most appealing figure that the museum has acquired. It probably formed part of the group of an Entombment.

NEW YORK.—Recent Accessions of the Metropolitan Museum.—Among the recent accessions of the Metropolitan Museum is a copy of Roger Van der Weyden's Descent from the Cross, the original of which has been lost. It is in the style of the school of mannerists that flourished about 1510-25 in Brussels and Antwerp. (*B. B., B. Metr. Mus.* XIV, 1919, p. 65.) A triptych

by Segna di Buonaventura is of interest since, with the exception of the Pompeian frescoes, it is the earliest Italian painting in the Metropolitan collection. Another recent purchase among Italian paintings is a Florentine cassone panel of about 1450 with scenes from a marriage feast. (*Ibid.* pp. 6-8; 2 figs.) Two unsigned and undescribed prints lately acquired are by Jacob Cornelisz. They represent Judas Thaddeus and St. Peter. (W. M. I. Jr., *ibid.* pp. 17 and 39; 2 figs.)

A Portrait of Charles de Grasse-Briançon.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIV, 1919, pp. 61-63 (fig.) B. D. publishes a portrait of a knight of Malta included in the Riggs collection, the subject of which he has identified as Charles de Grasse-Briançon. It bears the date 1603, when the subject was seventy-seven years old.

Lace Pattern Books of the Sixteenth Century.—The Metropolitan Museum has recently acquired a number of sixteenth century lace pattern books that are of great importance in identifying patterns in laces that have been preserved. One of the most interesting, though not the earliest, of these is by Isabella Catanea Parasole and was published in Rome in 1597. (F. M., *B. Metr. Mus.* XIV, 1919, pp. 86-89; 2 figs.)

PROVIDENCE.—**An Interior by Adrian van Ostade.**—A painting signed, "A. Ostade 1651," in the Brown University collection, is published by J. SHAPLEY in *Art in America*, VII, 1919, pp. 121-124 (fig.). The subject is a dark interior with three figures, a man and two women. Points of close similarity to the figures are found in the Fiddler in the Hermitage, the Louvre Family Portrait, and the Old Fiddler, and A Smoker in the Metropolitan Museum. While some of the minor details favor the idea of a collaborator, the conception of the design and the principal features of the picture can have as their source no other artist than the master whose signature the painting bears.

Accessions of the Rhode Island School of Design.—A thirteenth century stained glass window from Bourges has recently been acquired by the Rhode Island School of Design and is published in the *Bulletin*, VII, 1919, pp. 14-16 (fig.) by L. E. ROWE. The panel is made up of parts of two windows and its most interesting feature consists in its wealth of color. Two small predella panels by Mariotto di Nardo, which have recently been purchased by the museum and which represent the Stigmatization of St. Francis and the Martyrdom of St. Lawrence, show the characteristic spirit and traditions of the fourteenth century. (*Ibid.* pp. 16-18; 2 figs.) Other recent accessions through gift and purchase are a fifteenth century Italian wrought-iron lamp-holder, a sixteenth century Italian silk fabric and a fifteenth century French chest front of walnut. (*Ibid.* pp. 7-8; 3 figs.)

WORCESTER.—**A Flemish Madonna.**—In *Art in America*, VII, 1919, pp. 124-129 (fig.) R. WYER publishes a sixteenth century Flemish Madonna in the collection of Mr. Frank C. Smith, Jr., Worcester, Mass. Its attribution to Jan Gossaert is suggested.

A Madonna by the Master of Frankfort.—In the *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum*, X, 1919, pp. 6-9 (fig.) R. W. publishes a Madonna and Child with angels owned by the Museum which has the characteristics associated with the works attributed to the Master of Frankfort. The best qualities of the picture are its rich coloring and detail.

Minor Arts at the Worcester Museum.—In the *Bulletin of the Worcester Art Museum*, IX, 1919, p. 62 (8 figs.) R. W. announces the recent purchase by the museum of a collection of works of Italian minor arts,—bronzes, plaques, and laces of the fifteenth to eighteenth centuries. Among these are included two bronze allegorical figures in the manner of Alessandro Vittoria, a bronze figure of Johann Gutenberg by Pierre Jean David, and a terracotta plaque of the Madonna and Child in the manner of Luca della Robbia.

AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

TORONTO.—**Acquisitions of the Ontario Provincial Museum.**—In the *Thirtieth Annual Report* of the Ontario Provincial Museum, 1918, pp. 111–130 (22 figs.) R. B. ORR records the acquisitions of American antiquities of the Museum during the year. There are 372 different items, chiefly articles of stone and terracotta.

WHITCHURCH.—**An Indian Fort.**—In the township of Whitchurch, York County, Ontario, there are remains of an Indian “hill fort.” It covers an area of seven and one half acres and the sites of a dozen bark houses can be made out within it. Remains of an extensive moat extend from the southeast to the northwest corner, and along the western side for a distance of 779 feet the clay elevation for the palisades can be followed. Outside of the fortification there is an extensive burial site which appears to be Algonquin. (R. B. ORR, *Thirtieth Annual Report* of the Ontario Provincial Museum, 1918, pp. 49–53; 4 figs.)

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH

II¹

THE Corinthian inscriptions published in this paper are the classical Greek inscriptions discovered by the American School at Athens in its excavations from 1902 to 1907 inclusive. A few from earlier excavations which were not published by Mr. Powell are also included. Mr. Powell published 60 inscriptions or fragments of inscriptions. Hence the numbering in this article begins with 61. Mr. Powell followed an approximately chronological order of presentation without regard to type. This method is less advisable when, as in the present article, one has more representatives of distinct types to publish than he had. In this paper, therefore, the inscriptions will be found in groups corresponding to those in the *Inscriptiones Graecae*, and in each group an attempt has been made at chronological arrangement.

The first and most important of the groups here published contains the Public Decrees,—in fact, all the decrees of the Corinthian state written in the Greek language that we know—excepting one found at Magnesia and published by Kern, *Inscripfen von Magnesia*, No. 42. All but the insignificant fragment No. 66 are to be dated before 146 B.C. Like all other pre-Mummian Corinthian inscriptions they bear witness to the devastation wrought by the Roman sack as well as by earthquakes, and by their incessant re-use for building purposes by Greeks, Romans, Venetians, and Turks. Not one of them is complete. None of them adds much to our knowledge of the history of Corinth. Two of

¹ The first paper on Greek inscriptions discovered in the excavations of the American School at Corinth was published by the late Benjamin Powell in *A.J.A.* VII, 1903, pp. 26–71. This paper has been numbered as a continuation of his work, although by a different author. One other important archaic inscription found in the American excavations has been published by S. O. Dickerman in conjunction with one from Cleonae in *A.J.A.* VII, 1903, pp. 147–156. [As Mr. Powell's article and *I.G.* IV were published nearly simultaneously cross-references were impossible. The following inscriptions appear in both publications: Powell 7 = *I.G.* IV, 397; 21 = 1599; 22 = 1604; 23 = 1603; 24 = 1600; 25 = 1601; 27 = 1602; 30 = 1605; 31 = 1598; 48 = 405. *J. M. P.*]

the six are very small fragments. In the case of only two is restoration certain and this does not extend beyond the formulae. The other two permit us only to guess at their contents. And none of them is as early as the fourth century B.C.

Nevertheless, despite these disappointing facts, this group does throw some light on the character of the Corinthian dialect spoken, or, at least, used in public documents, in the third and second centuries B.C. It furnishes the first positive proof of the use at Corinth of the Doric *κοινή*. Outside of the regular *a* for *η* may be noted especially the verbal forms *-θητι*, *ἀναθέμεν* (61, 8), and *ἔών* (63, 3) as well as *παρεπιδαμοῦσιν* (63, 5).

Something may also be learned from this group about the documentary formulae employed at Corinth. In No. 63, and probably also in No. 64, the divided type of prescript is found, the *ἔδοξε* of authorization appearing not immediately after the date but between the Reason for the Decree (*ἐπειδὴ . . .*) and the body of the text. The dating is extremely brief in the one instance preserved, No. 63, consisting merely of the eponymous official's name, without designation of his office, and of the name of the month, both in the genitive case. In No. 61 the conclusion of a decree is seen to contain provisions for procuring, inscribing, and erecting the stone copy of the original document and for meeting its expense, in language paralleled by Corcyraean and other Dorian decrees. The style of the formulae, in general, varies from the simplicity of No. 63 to the verbosity of No. 62. The phrases are naturally more akin to those of Peloponnesian than of Attic documents; but they show no special similarity to the phrases used in documents of Corinth's colonies.

For the constitutional side of Corinthian history this group of fragments is again of little value. As in the Magnesian decree, honors are conferred by a single body, presumably the same Ecclesia there named. It is certainly not the Corcyraean Halia or Haliaea. And this fact adds nothing to our knowledge of the government of this important state concerning which so little is known.

The second group of inscriptions in this article contains fragments of three Catalogues and one Boundary Stone. Two of the catalogues are Victors' Lists of the Roman period, one is of uncertain character. The first of the Lists contains only the official dating, not the list proper. It is noteworthy for having the

Emperor-Consul's name erased. The Boundary Stone, a precious fragment from the fifth century B.C., is a most interesting stone, and helps to explain a mysterious rock-cutting and secret entrance close by the spot where it originally stood. It is also important for the history of the Corinthian alphabet and numerical signs, and makes a slight contribution to our knowledge of the Corinthian dialect.

Dedications of different kinds compose the third group, Nos. 71-98. They range in date from the sixth century B.C. to late Roman times. Most of them are mere fragments, but many are not lacking in interest. Four are written in fine archaic Corinthian letters. One may have come from the pedestal of a statue of the famous Timoleon. One, and possibly a second, gives the sculptor's name. In the Roman group are found fragments of pedestals of the statues of the Emperor Hadrian and of one of the prominent Achaean provincials of the time of Tiberius. Other fragments possibly give us the late Roman designation for the long portico known to the excavators as "The Northwest Shops."

In the fourth group a few broken Gravestones are found, one of which is metrical.

Finally, I have made a few comments on certain of the inscriptions published by Powell.

I

PUBLIC DECREES

AN HONORARY DECREE

61*a* and *b* (Inv. 401 and 432. Fig. 1). Two fragments of bluish-grey limestone, found at different times and in different localities, but not so far apart as to preclude any attempt to bring them into association. The larger fragment, *a* (401), was found in 1907 in an accumulation above the Agora, south of the Northwest Stoa. The smaller fragment, *b* (432), was picked up later in the same year near the Propylaea on the late Greek pavement of the Agora. They are not of the same thickness; but neither fragment appears to retain its original back surface. On the other hand, identically the same quality of stone appears in both and the letters in both have exactly the same size, shapes, and peculiarities; viz., the main strokes are merely short, disconnected wedges; the middle horizontal strokes in E and A are missing; and it is almost impossible to tell apart Θ, O, and Ω. For these reasons the fragments have been associated.

Fragment *a* is broken from the lower left-hand corner of an inscription and contains the beginnings of nine lines. Its dimensions are H. 0.255 m., W. 0.264 m., Th. 0.07 m.

Fragment *b* is a small piece from the last two lines of an inscription and con-

tains no more than nine letters. Its dimensions are H. 0.14 m., W. 0.07 m., Th. 0.031 m.

In both fragments the letters are 0.005–7 m. high.

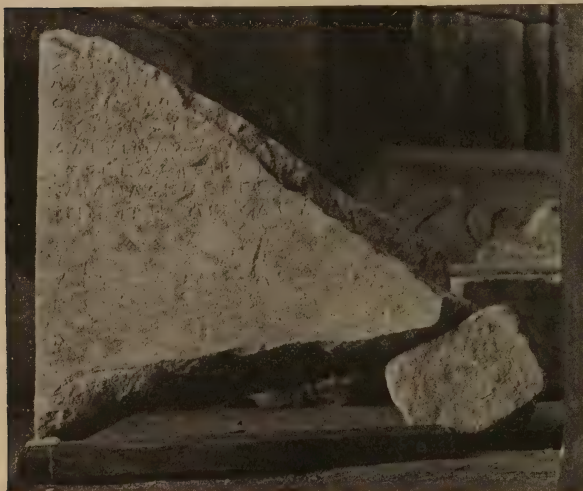
<i>a</i>	<i>b</i>
...	αγορα
σιτωι	μένης
αυτὸν κα	
θητι ὅπως	
5 αυτὴν εὖερ	
καὶ τιμὰς ἀπ	
τ[ω] ὁ ἐγδότῃρ ἀγ	
καὶ ἀναθέμεν εἰς	
πὶ Πειρήναι· τὸ δὲ ἀγ	

a. Line 1. Only a few traces of letters remain, possibly Δ, then perhaps O, and N or I.

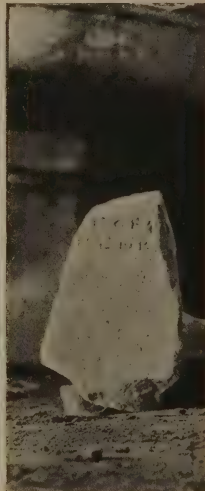
Line 2. The last letter might be N instead of I.

Line 3. The fourth letter may be either O or Ω. Beyond K only a sloping bar appears. It might be Λ as well as A.

Line 5. The η in αυτὴν is clear. It is a surprising κοινή intrusion. Contrast Πειρήναι (9) and also ἀναθέμεν (8).



A



B

FIGURE 1.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 61.

Line 7. After the first letter the stone appears to have a small chipping. Into the space could only fit either Θ, Ο, or Ω. Beyond the last letter—which might be Δ as well as Α—a vertical hasta can be deciphered, belonging to Γ, Ν, Π, or possibly Ρ. I believe it to be Ν, the second letter of ἀναγράφαι.

Line 9. On the fractured edge at the right can be seen the beginning of an upright hasta, which again I consider to be Ν.

Enough is preserved to show that the conclusion of a Corinthian decree was couched in familiar language. But we have too little to enable us to offer any restoration which will be anything but suggestive of the original. The details are wholly uncertain. The restoration below is merely intended to indicate what I conceive to be the sequence of thought, and how I think the two fragments can be brought together.

a . . .

σιτω[— — —· καλεῖν δὲ καὶ εἰς προεδρίαν]

αὐτὸν κα[ὶ ἐκγόνους ἐν τοῖς ἀγῶσι οἷς ἡ πόλις τί]—

θητι, ὅπως [καὶ ἡ πόλις φαίνεται πάντας τοὺς εἰς ἐ]—

5 αὐτὴν εὐερ[γετοῦντας καταξίας καὶ χάριτας]

καὶ τιμὰς ἀπ[οδιδοῦσα· στάλαν δὲ λιθίναν ἐγδό]—

τ[ω] ὁ ἐγδοτήρ· ἀν[αγράφαι δὲ εἰς αὐτὰν τὸ ψάφισμα]

καὶ ἀναθέμεν εἰς [τὰν εἴσοδον τᾶς] ἀγορᾶ[s τὰν ἐ]— b

πὶ Πειρήναι· τὸ δὲ ἀν[άλωμα δότῳ Εὐ]μένης [ὁ ταμίας.]

The phraseology follows in general that of an inscription of Epidaurus Limeri, *I.G.* V, 1, 932.

Line 6. στάλαν δὲ κτλ. The language resembles that in contemporary Spartan inscriptions; *I.G.* V, 1, 4 and 5; also in one from Hermione, Dittenberger, *Sylloge*,² 654. The duties of an ἐγδοτήρ (or ἐκδότης) are succinctly expressed in *I.G.* XII, 653, 59, ἄνδρα ὅστις ἐγδώσει τὴν στήλην καὶ στήσει καὶ ἐπιμελὲς ποιήσεται ὅπως ἀναγραφῇ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα. He was the “director of contracts” (Tillyard, *B.S.A.* XII, 1905–1906, p. 443). He had to give out the contract for the shaping, inscribing, and erection of the stone. On the form in -τηρ see most recently Fraenkel, *Geschichte der griechischen Nomina Agentis auf*, -τηρ, -τωρ, -της. Compare also No. 75, note on line 3, page 369.

Line 8. τὰν εἴσοδον τᾶς ἀγορᾶς. The more usual formula of location would be εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τὸ τοῦ δεινός or εἰς τὸν ἐπιφανέστατον τόπον. But I have been led to my restoration by the fact that the smaller

piece was discovered near the great northern *εἴσοδος* which is in fact close to Peirene. In an inscription of Ialysos (Ditt. *Syll.*² 560) a similar site is appointed for the erection of an honorary decree.

Line 9. Πειρήναι. The famous city-fountain, the *σεμνὸν ὕδωρ* of Euripides (*Medea* 69). The excavations of the American School at Athens have brought to light its varied architectural history from the days of Periander down to modern times. The water is still flowing copiously and supplies the modern village of Old Corinth. The spelling with *η* is that of the Attic or of the milder type of Doric. So Euripides writes in a choral passage of his *Troades*, 205, Πειρήνας ὕδρευσόμενα πρόσπολος οἰκτρά σεμνῶν ὑδάτων. Pindar uses the more severely Doric form Πειράνας in *Olymp.* XIII, 86.

τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα. Among examples of this formula may be noted particularly Ditt. *Syll.*² 654 (Hermione), τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα δότω εἰς ταῦτα Ἀπελ(λᾶ)ς, ὁ ταμίης: *I.G.* IX, 685-6 (Coreyra), τὸν δὲ ταμίαν δόμεν τὸ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα: *I.G.* XI, 683 (Delos), τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα δοῦναι τὸν ταμίαν Ἀμ—: *I.G.* XII, 5, 653 (Syros), τὸ δὲ ἐσόμενον ἀνήλωμα εἰς τε τὴν στήλην καὶ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν δότω ὁ ταμίης Ἀρισταγόρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνκυκλίου διοικήσεως καθότι ἂν συντελέσῃ ὁ ἐγδότης: *I.G.* IV, 2 (Aegina), τὸ δὲ γενόμενον ἀνάλωμα δότω ὁ ταμίης.

HONORS CONFERRED ON NIKADAS, SON OF ALEXANOR, OF AIGION¹

62 (Inv. 259. Fig. 2). Three contiguous fragments of greyish marble, which together form the upper right-hand corner of a slab surmounted by a pedimental decoration. Found in 1902 behind the shops on the Lechaem Road, at the north end, in the filling beneath the Basilica. As reconstructed the dimensions are H. 0.31 m., W. (of the inscribed field) 0.277 m., Th. (of the inscribed field) 0.032 m. (at top)—0.051 m. (at bottom). H. of letters: in line 1, 0.009 m., in the other lines, 0.007–0.009 m. The original width of the inscribed field can be determined approximately since the apex of the pediment is preserved. The pediment itself must have been about 0.356 m. wide. Subtracting 0.042 m., to allow for its excess width, we get an original width of the inscribed field of 0.314 m. This means a minimum loss of 0.037 m. at the left. The forms of the letters indicate the first half of the second century B.C. as the probable date.

[Ἐπὶ —]ρσίλα, Φοινικαίου (μηνός),
[Ἐπειδὴ Ν]ικάδας Ἀλεξάνορος Αἰγινεὺς
[ἐν παν]τὶ καιρῷ διατελεῖ εὖνους ἐ—

¹ The Greek proper names in this article are transliterated according to the system preferred by the author and adopted at his special request. *J. M. P.*

- [ὦν κοι]νᾷ τε τᾷ πόλει καὶ καθ' ἰδίαν τοῖς
 5 [παρε]πιδαμοῦσιν καὶ χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν
 [τῶν ἁμε]τέρων πολιτῶν, ἔδοξε τᾷ
 [ἐκκλησίαι ἐπαι]νέσαι Νικάδαν Ἀλε-
 [ξάνορος Αἰγιῆ ἐπὶ τᾷ εὐνο]ίαι ἃι ἔχων
 [διατελεῖ κτλ.

(In the Year) of —rsilas, (in the month) Phoinikaïos,
 (Whereas) Nikadas, son of Alexanor, of Aigion
 never permits an opportunity to pass of showing
 kindness to the State as a whole and to our
 individual citizens who visit Aigion
 and need assistance, Voted by the
 Assembly to commend Nikadas, son of Alexanor,
 of Aigion, because of the kindness which he
 continually shows, etc.

Line 1. An unfortunate shadow in the photograph has obliterated the first letters of this line and the line below. The stone has before Σ a P, and a possible tip of the lowest horizontal hasta of an E, as indicated in the transliterated text above. But this letter is by no means certain. If it were, *Θερσίλας* would be a

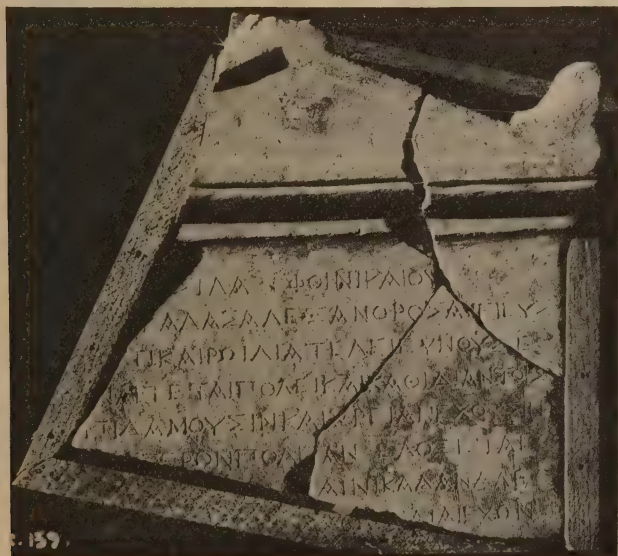


FIGURE 2.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 62.

plausible restoration;¹ but in view of the uncertainty it is best to leave the name incomplete. The name is unquestionably that of the eponymous magistrate, either a γραμματεὺς (see Nos. 8 and 16, pp. 346–347) or the πρύτανις, the officer who usually appears in this eponymous capacity in the documents of Corinth's colonies,² the executive head of the eight πρόβουλοι, the Corinthian ephors, who are mentioned by Nicol. Damasc. frg. 60.³ It is strange to find the title of his office missing, but lack of space preceding the name compels us to assume such an omission in this instance. There is room for ἐπὶ and a space equal to that following –ρσίλας, but not for so long a word as πρυτανεύοντος or γραμματεύοντος. At first glance it would appear as if the ἐπὶ also must have been omitted; for it happens that the two names as they stand are centred in their line. But this symmetry is misleading. So far as I can discover, the genitive of a man's name without ἐπὶ or the designation of his office is found in the heading of an honorary decree only when the name belongs to the recipient of the honors. In this inscription the recipient is Nikadas, so –ρσίλας must be the name of the magistrate and ἐπὶ must have preceded it. Even this formula is unusual and restricted to a very few of the known documents.⁴

Φοινικαίου. This is recognized as the name of a Corinthian month from the Coreyraean decree discovered at Magnesia (*Inscr. v. Magn.*, 44) with the heading: 'Επὶ πρυτάνιος Ἀνθρώπισκου μηνὸς Φοινικαίου ἀμέραι πέμπται. (Notice the similar spacing.) Otherwise it would have been understood as a demotic appellation. It is so defined by Steph. Byzant. s.v. Φοινίκαιον ὄρος Κορίνθου. Ἐφορος ἐννεακαίδεκάτῳ, τὸ ἔθνικον Φοινικαῖος. The omission of μηνός, while less surprising, parallels the suppression of πρυτανεύοντος, or its equivalent, in the phrase preceding.

¹ Suggested by Mr. Hill, Director of the American School at Athens. As a matter of fact, I have found the name only in the Ionic form Θερσέλεως (*I.G.* XII, 5, 216—the well-known archaic Parian column). It has been suggested, also, that the eponymous founder of the Thersilion at Megalopolis may have been named Θερσίλας rather than Θέρσιλος. See the Index to *I.G.* V, 2, s.v. Θέρσιλος.

² See Kern, *Inscripfen von Magnesia*, 42 and 44; *G.D.I.* 1389, 3180, 3199 ff. Cf. *Anthol. Gr.* VII, 619.

³ Greenidge, *Outlines of Greek Constitutional History*, p. 72.

⁴ *I.G.* XIV, 208–213 (Acrae) and 421–423 (Tauromenium), are to be added to the three examples given by Larfeld, I, p. 470.

Line 2. The I in Νικάδας actually appears on the stone though concealed by the shadow in the photograph.

Ἀλεξάνορος. An honored name in this neighborhood (Paus. II, 11, 5).

Αἰγιεύς. As Aigion was at this time the centre of the Achaean League, Nikadas must indeed have found many opportunities for showing kindness to visiting Corinthians. The nature of his public service to the Corinthian state is unrecorded.

Line 5. *παρεπιδαμοῦσιν* is the regular word in this formula, outside of Attica, from the end of the third century B.C. The commonest Attic synonyms are *ἐντυγχάνουσιν*, *περιτυγχάνουσιν*, and *ἀφικνουμένοις*. Two other possible restorations may be set aside as inferior: *ἐνεπιδαμοῦσιν*, a rare late word, which does not quite fill the lacuna; and *ἀεὶ ἐπιδαμοῦσιν*, an unusual combination, although both words occur separately in this formula.

Line 6. *ἀμετέρων*. On the introduction of the first person see Larfeld I, pp. 528-529.

ἔδοξε τῷ ἐκκλησίῳ. The Corinthian prescripts, as observed here and in the Corinthian inscription at Magnesia (*Inscr. v. Magn.*, 42), omit this formula at the beginning and set it after the statement of facts, where normally the transitional infinitive *δεδόχθαι* appears (Larfeld I, 482-484). Parallels to this Corinthian type are not uncommon, e.g., Larfeld, I, 479 (inscriptions of Sparta, Corcyra, Epirus), *Inscr. v. Magn.*, 40 (Argos), 45, 46 (Epidamnus), 48 (Eretria). It is, in fact, a characteristic late type (Larfeld, I, 475).

Line 7. *ἐκκλησίῳ*. Restored from *Inscr. v. Magn.*, 42, 10. In literature we hear only of a Corinthian *γερονσία*. As in Sparta, all real power seems to have been concentrated in the hands of this oligarchical body, there under the Ephors, here under the Probouloi [Diod. XVI, 65; Polyb. XXXVIII, 13 (11)], but there is nothing in the evidence to disprove the existence of an Ecclesia. In fact, by analogy with Spartan institutions we should expect both bodies. We find the Corinthian Gerousia possessing executive and judicial authority; the Ecclesia would control foreign relations and confer such honors as are decreed in this inscription. That the latter is never mentioned in literature is due, no doubt, to the rarity of literary allusions to the government of Corinth. Grote's picture of the Corinthian state inclines to the excessively oligarchical. There must be a measure

of truth in the Sicilian view of Corinth quoted by Plutarch.¹ One inscription of Ithaca mentions the ἐκκλησία (Ditt. *Syll.*² 25). In the other colonies the name ἀλία is given to it (*G.D.I.* 3180, 3199 ff.). But this word is too short to fit into our text.

Before ΑΙ traces of Ν Ε Ξ can be observed on the fractured edge of the stone.

Line 8. Αἰγιῆ. For the restored contracted ending see No. 63, line 5, -αιῆ.

ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐνοῖαις αἱ ἔχων. There is no doubt of this reading although the last three letters of the noun are broken. This dative with ἐπὶ, giving the summarized motive for honoring a person, practically displaces the genitive and ἔνεκα outside of Attica in the early second century B.C. As collected by Larfeld, *I*, pp. 511-513, the figures are the following:

Centuries	IV-III	II-I
Gen. + ἔνεκα	30 times	9 times
ἐπὶ + Dat.	8 "	35 "

In Attica ἐπὶ with the Dative does not displace the other construction until the second half of the first century B.C. (Larfeld *II*, 770). It is found in the one complete Aeginetan decree known, *I.G.* IV, 2 (69 B.C.).

PROXENIA CONFERRED ON CHAIRESILAOS

63 (*Inv.* 248. *Fig.* 3). A slab of Acrocorinth limestone, broken on all sides except the right. Present dimensions: H. 0.168 m., W. 0.246 m., Th. 0.074 m. H. of letters, 0.008-0.015 m. Ο and Θ are small. The others are not of uniform size. There are no real finials, but the wedge-shaped hastae produce a similar effect. The cutting is very uneven, and, considering the size of the letters, the channels are over-wide. In the fourth line the cross-bar of the Α in the proper name has been omitted. It was probably painted in. The fragment was found in a late level near the east end of the Northwest Stoa. Its date seems to be the first half of the second century B.C.

[Ἐπειδὴ — — — —

(Unknown number of lines lost)—

[— — —]ς μήτε

[— — π]ᾶσαν ἐπι-

[μέλειαν ἐποιή]σατο· ἔδοξε

[ταῖς ἐκκλησί]αις Χαιρεσίλαον

¹ Timoleon 2, τὴν πόλιν ὁρῶντες φιλελεύθερον καὶ μισοτύραννον οὖσαν αἰεὶ καὶ τῶν πολέμων τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ μεγίστοις πεπολεμηκυῖαν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἡγεμονίας καὶ πλεονεξίας ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἐλευθερίας.

- 5 [— —]αιῆ υ υ υ πρόξενον
 [εἶμεν κ]αὶ εὐεργέταν τᾶς
 [πόλιος] τῶν Κορινθίων αὐ—
 [τόν τ]ε καὶ ἐκγόνους· ὑπάρ—
 [χειν] δὲ αὐτῶι καὶ τὰ λοιπ[ὰ φι]—
 10 [λάνθρ]ωπα καὶ τίμια πᾶ[ντα]
 [ὅσα καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις προξέ]—
 [νοις καὶ εὐεργέταις κτλ.]

(Whereas Chairesilaos of —
 — — — —
 — — —) has devoted
 himself — — — —
 — — — , Voted
 by the Assembly, That Chairesilaos
 of — be Proxenos
 and Benefactor of the
 Corinthian State, him-
 self and his descendants; and That
 he enjoy all the other
 favors and honors
 (that the other Proxenoι
 and Benefactors etc.)

Line 2. [π]ᾶσαν ἐπι[μέλειαν ἐποιή]σατο. See Larfeld, I, 494.

Line 3. ἔδοξε. See note on No. 62, line 6.

Line 4. [ἐκκλησ]ίαι. See note on No. 62, line 7.

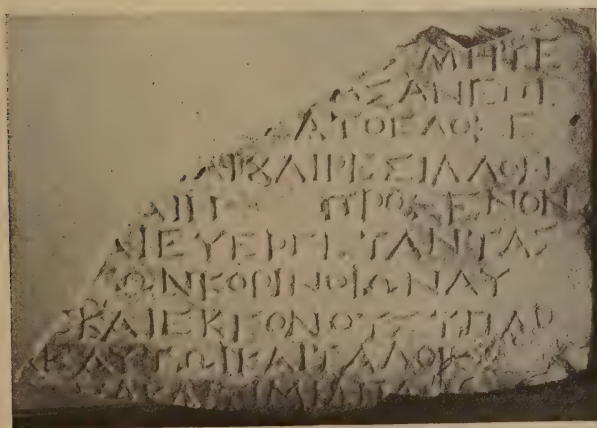


FIGURE 3.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 63.

Χαιρεσίλαος. *G.D.I.* 1745, 1954; Fick, *Griech. Personennamen*,² pp. 18, 28, 287.

Line 5. Not more than eight letters are missing at the left. The father's name is so rarely omitted (I have found as parallel examples only *I.G.* XI, 652 and 1040) that we must conclude that both patronymic and ethnic are to be accommodated in this short space. It is possible to restore 'Αλαιῆ or 'Ηραιῆ and still have room for a genitive of five or six letters. Even Φαραιῆ would be possible; but any longer form like Αἰγιαῆ, Καρθαιῆ, Κρηταιῆ, Πειραιῆ, or Πλαταιῆ leaves room only for some rare name like Βίας. 'Αστυπαλαιῆ would fill the lacuna perfectly by itself. In view of the number of possibilities, it seems wisest to leave the gap. It is disappointing to have the ethnic adjective in doubt. For Chairesilaos is the first and only known proxenos in the entire commercial empire of Corinth. Indeed, this consular institution has hitherto been inferred for Corinth merely in view of its prevalence throughout the Hellenic world.¹

Line 8. The horizontal hasta on the edge of the stone could belong to a sigma; but undoubtedly it is part of the epsilon of τε.

Line 10. Of φιλάνθρωπα only the tops of the last three letters are preserved, but they are enough to prove that the normal Hellenistic formula, τὰ λοιπὰ φιλάνθρωπα καὶ τίμα πάντα, was employed here; see Larfeld, I, 521 ff. The word φιλάνθρωπα is here used in the usual sense of *favours* or *privileges*; at times it is to be interpreted as *services rendered* (*B.S.A.* XII, 442).

SOSTRATOS

64 (Inv. 453). On a Greek building-block of *poros* discovered in 1907 built into a shop of the earliest Roman period, at the western end of the Agora H. 0.35 m., W. 1.225 m., Th. unascertainable. H. of letters 0.026–0.03 m. Shapes: ΑΗΚΣΩΘ

— — —
στρατηγ[ὸ]ς —
Σώστρατον 'Αγ[—]
Κορίνθιον τὸν αὐτ[ὸν] —
καὶ Ρωμαίων ποσ —

These words appear to belong to the concluding lines of the inscription. There are traces of words above στρατηγός but none beneath the last line.

¹Cf. P. Monceaux, *Les Proxènes grecques*, p. 164.

Line 1. Beyond *στρατηγός* there are some illegible letters.

Line 2. At the right A is clear, Γ seems to follow; then perhaps an A and N or M. We expect the father's name.

Line 3. The letters *αυτ* are exceedingly doubtful.

The fragment can be dated with considerable certainty in the first half of the second century B.C. Its use in one of the earliest buildings of Roman Corinth as second-hand material makes it antedate Mummius's sack of the city in 146 B.C. Its letters also are typical of the second century B.C.

CROWNS FOR ARBITRATORS (?)

65 (Inv. 255. Fig. 4). A bluish-grey marble slab, broken on all sides except the left. H. 0.245 m., W. 0.108 m., Th. 0.082-85 m. Found under the north end of the Basilica to the west of the Lechaëum Road. H. of letters:

	εαν[—	—	—	—	—
	καὶ π[ε]ισυ[—	—	—	—	—
	ον καὶ ὁ δημ[ο	—	—	—	—	—
	τους εὐχα[ρ	—	—	—	—	—
5	νέσαι μέν[—	—	—	—	—
	στεφανοι [—	—	—	—	—
	καὶ ἑξαποστ	—	—	—	—	—
	στας παν [—	—	—	—	—
	μον καὶ τὸν γ[—	—	—	—	—
10	των .ας δικ[α	—	—	—	—	—
	φανοι καλο[—	—	—	—	—
	φάνων ἀναγο[ρευ	—	—	—	—	—
	[Δ]ιονυσίων [—	—	—	—	—
	. . τοις καὶ [—	—	—	—	—

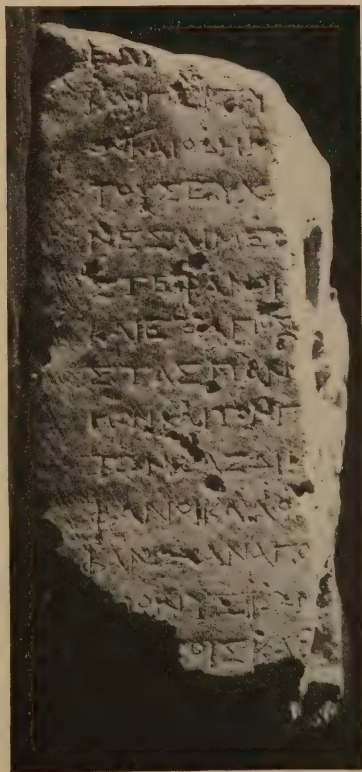


FIGURE 4.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH:
No. 65.

O=0.003 m.; I sometimes=0.009 m.; Φ=0.011 m.; other letters=0.006 m. The letters are shallow and carelessly cut. A few have finials. They look more like a bookhand than monumental forms. Some traces of alignment-rulings are visible, but only above the letters. The engraver appears to have contented himself with this single guide. The inscription may be dated in the middle of the second century B.C.

Line 2. The fifth letter was read Λ by the finder; to me E alone seems possible. The last letter is surely Γ.

Line 10. The fourth letter is illegible.

The following amplification of the preserved portion of the text pretends to do nothing more than suggest the original content of the inscription. It is based on the assumption that δῆμος would not be used in a genuinely Corinthian decree of this date and that the fragments of words ἐξαποσ- (1.7), -στας (1.8), and δικ- (1.10) refer to the common Hellenistic practice of sending off (ἐξαποστεῖλαι) to another city, on request, arbitrators (δικαστάς) to decide important suits (δίκας) between citizens of the city making the request, between that city and another, or whenever the partiality of the local judges was suspected and feared. The preservation of such records on stone is commonly due, as I assume was the case in the present instance, to the publication in this manner of honors conferred on the visiting commission by the state whose citizens have thus been laid under obligation. The place of discovery is not necessarily the city which promulgates the decree. It is as likely to be the home of the arbitrators. Consequently, it is not surprising in such an inscription to find a dialectic form like δῆμος.¹

ἐὰν[τοὺς (?)	—	—	—	—	—	—	—]
καὶ Π[ε]ισύ[λον	—	—	—	—	—	—	—]
ον καὶ ὁ δῆμ[ος	—	—	—	—	—	—	—]

τοὺς εὐχα[ριστοῦντας εἰς τὸν δῆμον τῶν — · δεδόχθαι τῷ δήμῳ ἐπαί]-
 νέσαι μὲν [τὸν δῆμον τὸν τῶν Κορινθίων καὶ στεφανῶσαι αὐτὸν χρυσῶι
 στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγορεῦσαι ὅτι ὁ δῆμος]

¹ Among other examples may be mentioned *I.G.* V, 2, 367, a Magnesian decree in Arcadia; *I.G.* XI, 4, 1057, a Doric decree in Delos; *I.G.* XII, 2, 530, an Ionic decree in Eresos; *I.G.* XII, 2, 658, a Colophonian decree at Methymna; and the many foreign decrees among the Magnesian inscriptions. In general see Pauly-Wissowa, V, 1, p. 570, *s.v.* δικάσται. M. N. Tod, *International Arbitration among the Greeks*, has collected the examples in which these δικάσται arbitrated between states. See also P. Raeder, *L'Arbitrage internationale chez les Grecs*.

στεφανοῖ [τὸν δῆμον τὸν τῶν Κορινθίων χρυσῶι στεφάνωι ἐπὶ τῶι —]
 καὶ ἐξαποσ[τεῖλαι ἄνδρας καλοὺς ἀγαθοὺς — — — ἐπαινέσαι δὲ
 καὶ τοὺς δικαί]—
 στὰς Παν[α (?) — — καὶ Πεισύλον — ἀρετῆς ἔνεκα καὶ δι-
 καιοσύνης τῆς εἰς τὸν δῆ]—
 μον· καὶ τὸν γ[ραμματέα — — — στεφανῶσαι δὲ αὐτοὺς
 — — —]
 τῶν [τ]ὰς δίκ[ας — — — — — ὁ δὲ κῆρυξ ἀνα-
 γορεύετω ὅτι ὁ δῆμος ὁ τῶν — στε]—
 φανοῖ καλο[καγαθίας ἔνεκα Πανα — — — καὶ Πεισύλον — ·
 τῆς δὲ τῶν στε]—
 φάνων ἀναγο[ρεύσεως ἐπιμεληθῆναι — — — — —]
 [Δ]ιονυσίων [τῶν μεγάλων τραγωιδῶν τῶι ἀγῶνι· ὑπάρχειν δὲ αὐτοῖς
 — — —]
 [αὐ]τοῖς καὶ [ἐκγόνοις αὐτῶν — — — — —]

Line 1. The restoration εαυ[τοὺς] is purely conjectural.

Line 2. Π[ε]ισύ[λον]. This hypocoristic proper name, which is found also in Rhodes (*I.G.* XII, 1, 788), I have conjectured on the analogy of Ξένυλλος (No. 74) and similar names. See Fick-Bechtel, *Griech. Personennamen*,² p. 27.

Line 3. δῆμ[ος]. Contrast παρεπιδαμοῦσιν, No. 62, line 5. This κοινή form probably did not enter Corinthian inscriptions until after the Roman rebuilding of the city. Without exception the colonies use δᾶμος, and this is the form employed in the Corinthian decree at Magnesia (*Inscr. v. Magnesia*, 42, 1).

It is tempting to correct the preceding -ον to οὖν and restore ὅπως ἂν οὖν καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ ἡμέτερος φαίνεται τιμῶν κτλ., as in the regular hortatory formula.

Line 4. τοὺς εὐχα[ριστοῦντας κτλ. Cf. Larfeld, I, pp. 504 ff.

Line 6. στεφανοῖ. The verb is restored here and in line 11 instead of the plural noun because in practice only a single crown was voted to a δῆμος or to a group of individuals, no matter how numerous they were. I understand the plural in line 12 to refer to all the crowns separately voted above. This summarizing plural appears also in a Delian inscription (*I.G.* XI, 1056); after recording the individual crowns in the singular, the decree proceeds: τῆς δὲ ἀναγορεύσεως τῶν στεφάνων καὶ τῶν εἰκόνων ἐπιμεληθῆναι τοὺς στρατηγούς. Similar summaries are *I.G.* XII, 3, 6 (Syme), καὶ ἐστεφανώμενον χρυσεῶς στεφάνοις ὑπ' ἀμῶν τὸ τ[ρίτον], and 331 (Thera), καὶ τοὺς μὲν χρυσοὺς στεφάνους εἰς λεύκωμα καταχωρίσαι.

Line 8. -στας is presumably a final syllable. Words seem to be divided at the ends of lines in this inscription, as in others of the time, on a syllabic principle. The restoration δικά]στας is consistent with ἐξαποστέλλειν, (l. 7) and τὰς δίκας (l. 10).

Παν[α-]. The break here favors A after N. I assume that the names of the δικάσται begin with this word.

Line 9. γραμματεῖς, the indispensable secretaries of such boards, are not often the recipients of honors; but on occasion they are, *e.g.* *I.G.* VII, 4130, 4131; *I.G.* XII, 5, 869; Pauly-Wis-sowa *s.v.* γραμματεῖς (Vol. VII, 2, pp. 1741-3).

Line 11. καλο-. Because στέφανοι are never called καλοί, this seeming attributive must be understood either as the beginning of a proper name, or, better, as part of the brief motive which I have restored.

HONORARY (?)

66 (Inv. 391. Fig. 7, A). Fragment of a marble slab, preserving the original right edge and portions of the original back surface. Found in 1905 in the precinct east of Glauce. Its dimensions are H. 0.21 m., W. 0.15 m., Th. 0.054 m. The letters, 0.031-37 m. high, are framed by a channelled band or moulding 0.05 m. wide. Frame and inscribed surface are actually in the same plane. The effect of relief is obtained in the old way, by bevelling close to the frame, as in No. 94. Scratched horizontal rulings to aid the engraver in his alignment are seen not only in connection with the letters preserved but also on the stone beneath them and indicate that at least two more rows of letters were on the stone. These were diminishing in height. The space between the rulings is only 0.028 m. The letters are poorly cut. A possible date would be the second century A.D.

That we have to do with a decree is to be inferred from the second line, which is naturally restored [ε]δοξε. The delta is certain. I imagine that this was preceded in its line by Θεοί· Ἀγαθῇ Τύχῃ. In the first line we may have the last letter of Προξενία, Εὐεργεσία or Πολιτεία. On this understanding our fragment is broken from near the upper right-hand corner of some Corinthian honorary decree.

TWO DECREES (?) IN POWELL'S LIST

Attention should be called, while we are presenting the group of public decrees, to the fragments published by Powell as Nos. 8 and 16.

8. The present condition of the architrave block is apparent in the accompanying photograph (Fig. 5). My study of the letters leads me to read as follows:

[A proper name ending with -]as γρα[μματεῖς]
[Ἐπειδ]ῇ ὁ Πυθo [.]

There is no letter between Σ and Γ. Γ is practically certain, P probable, and A certain. In the second line it is the letter following T that is most difficult to decipher. Strange as it may seem the various marks favor Ξ or Σ more than a circular letter. But as the next letter is almost certainly O, the linguistic possibilities drive us to adopt Θ. The photograph, as a matter of fact, supports this reading better than it does the other letters.

16. This fragment is a piece of yellowish Acrocorinthian limestone, not white marble. Like No. 8 it seems to be the beginning of a decree. I would restore as follows:

Ἐπὶ γρ]αμμα[τεὺς τοῦ δεινός . . .
Ἐπειδῇ] Θιόδο[τος

By comparison with Powell's reading of the second line it will be seen that I feel more certain of the last three letters than he did. The spelling of the proper name with I instead of E before O is not otherwise found in inscriptions belonging to Corinth proper. The decree at Magnesia (*Inscr. v. Magnesia*, 42) has, for example, *θεαρός*, not *θιαρός*. But it is a common phenomenon in



FIGURE 5.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 8.

the dialects of all the neighboring states and appears in the Corcyraean decree at Magnesia, where *θιαρός* is found a number of times; but compare Thumb, *Handbuch d. Griech. Dialekte*, p. 113.

II

CATALOGUES AND BOUNDARY STONE

HEADING OF A LIST OF VICTORS IN GAMES

67 (Inv. 49. Fig. 6, A). A mutilated block of marble, originally in the shape of a triangular prism surmounted by a pyramidal cap. It was found in a Byzantine level northwest of Peirene. All three faces were inscribed. The front, *a*, is badly broken at the right but is the only face on which any words can be read. The dimensions of the block are H. 0.52 m., W. (of face *c*, the best-preserved) 0.295 m., Th. 0.163 m.

There is one peculiarity about this stone which can only be explained if we assume that part of the fracturing belongs to ancient times. In the photograph it will be seen that the first three lines are continued by dim painted letters on the broken surface. These complementary letters, underlined in the transcription below, not only resemble the others perfectly in size and shape but are painted with exactly the same *minium* as that which is now found in the inscribed letters. I think that we must assume that this corner was broken off, either in an earthquake or by some accident, at a time when Corinthians were still interested in keeping their pagan monuments in condition. H. of the letters: line 1, 0.03 m., other lines, 0.017 m.

a.

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΤΧΗ

	Ἐπὶ Ὑπάτων [Ἀύτο]-
	κράτορος [Καίσα]-
	ρος
5

	[. α]ὶ Γ. Ἀντισ[. . . .]
	[. .]υ ἀγωνο[. . . .]
	[. Τ]ῖβ. Κλαυ[. . . .]
10	[. . .]οι νεικ[. . . .]
	[. . . .]Ἐλ[. . . .]

Line 1. Nothing has to be supplied. H ΤΤΧΗ is painted in the fracture.

Line 2. *ων* is painted in the fracture.

Line 3. *s* is painted in the fracture.

Line 4. The important question to decide, if possible, is the name that has been erased from this and the two following lines.

The work of erasure has been done so thoroughly that nothing has survived but the high-set mark of abbreviation immediately after -ΠΟΣ, the horizontal bottom stroke of a Σ in line 6, and some scattered suggestions of letters which prove deceptive on closer

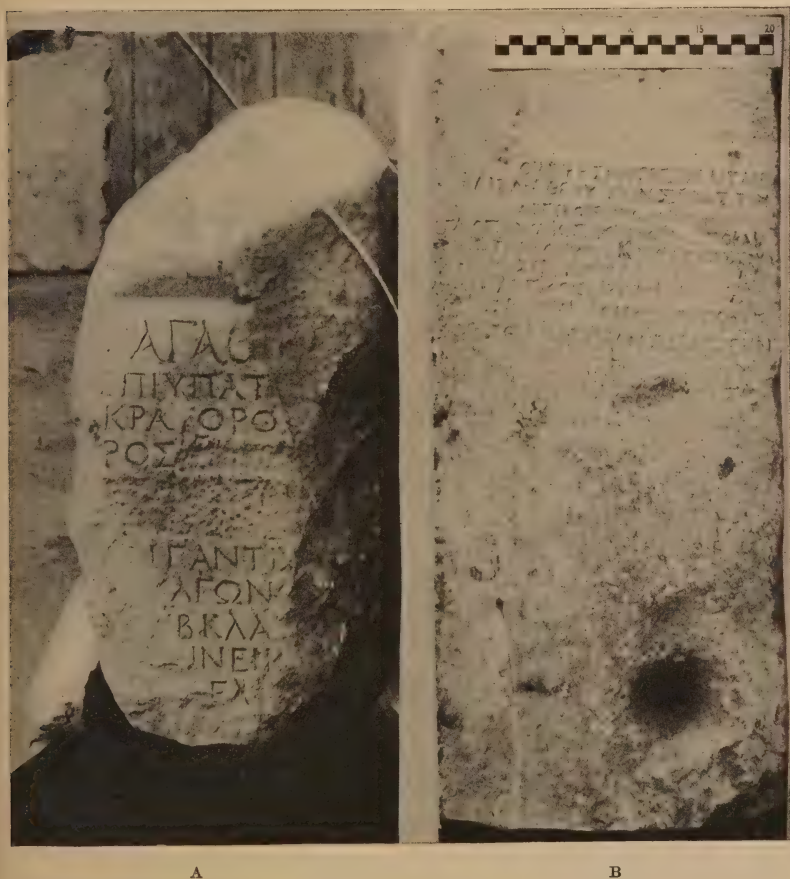


FIGURE 6.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH: NOS. 67, 68.

examination. Among these, however, the most convincing is P at the end of line 4. Really the only data to start from are first, the date, in so far as this may be guessed from the shapes of the letters and the formula of the prescript; second, the fact that the Roman emperor must be one whose name was likely to be erased; third, the title can contain no more than 36 letters, this being all

the erased space allows; the title begins with an abbreviation, probably P is the fourth letter, and Σ the fourth or fifth from the last; fourth (and possibly most definite of all), his colleague's name just below contains the letters ΓANTIE.

The only emperor whose name at all satisfies these conditions is Commodus. The letters in their combination of cursive and capital types are appropriate to the second century A.D. He is post-Flavian, as the phraseology *Αὐτοκράτορος κτλ.* implies. His name is often found erased in both Greek and Latin inscriptions, e.g. *I.G.* III, 1145, Index to *Inscriptiones Graecae ad Res Roman. pert.* I, p. 574, and Index to Dessau's *Inscr. Latinae*, III, 1, p. 284. His official title will contain 35 letters if written in the short form *Μ. Αὐρηλίου Κομμόδου Ἀντωνείνου Σεβαστοῦ*, and in this it will be observed that we start with an abbreviation, that P is the fourth letter and Σ the fourth from the last. Finally, in the year 181 A.D. the consular colleague of Commodus was L. Antistius Burrus Adventus. That is the most tantalizing fact of all. Everything fits except this colleague's praenomen. The Lucius is well established by *C.I.L.* VI, 213, 725, 1979, and other inscriptions. The Γ of our text might be interpreted as *tertium* if it were not for the I before it which almost certainly belongs to a *καί*. No; the Γ is Antistius's praenomen. Some explanation must be found for this or the whole hypothesis falls to the ground. The most hazardous explanation would be that Γ was an error for L. This is unlikely but still within the realm of possibility. Or, in view of the fact that a long line of consuls through the first century of the empire bore the name C. Antistius Vetus, the Γ might be due to a confusion of names in the records. I prefer to offer the second explanation. In the family of Antistius Vetus there were a Caius, consul in 50 A.D. and a Lucius, consul in 55 A.D.¹ Confusion may have resulted at times in the provincial records.

Unless we admit some such explanation, we shall have to conclude either that in C. Antis-, despite the completeness of our consular lists, we meet the name of an unrecorded consul, or that the names of both consuls have been erased and these letters are to be interpreted in some other way. I find either of these alternatives difficult to accept. Hence I prefer to assume the Γ to be due to a confusion in the records.

¹ See Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. 'Antistius'.

Line 7. The break before the I suggests A, Λ, or Δ. The last letter on the stone is a Σ.

Line 9. An abbreviation-mark stands over the IB. There is room for one letter before a restored [T]ιβ.

Line 10. οι leaves room for a short cognomen following an abbreviated Κλαυ(δίου) in the line preceding. If the cognomen were dropped, Κλαυδίου would fill out its line and οὔτοι could be restored here.

Line 11. In the ΕΑ I imagine the beginning of the name of the games. Ἐλευσίνια would be appropriate to a city that held Demeter and Kore in such reverence as Corinth.¹ But we are ignorant of the existence of Eleusinia there. Corinth did celebrate Ἐλλώτια in honor of Athena Hellotis.² Possibly those are the games in question.

Assuming that this is actually a monument of the year 181 A.D. I offer the following restoration of the preserved text:

ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΤΧΗ

	Ἐπὶ Ὑπάτων [Αὐτο]-
	κράτορος]Καίσα]-
	ρος [Μ. Αὐρηλίου]
5	[Ἀντωνείνου Κομ]-
	[μόδου Σεβαστοῦ]
	[κα]ὶ Γ. Ἀντισ[(τίου) Βούρ]-
	[ρο]ν, Ἀγωνο[θέτου] . .
	[. Τ]ιβ. Κλαυ[(δίου)]-
10	[. . .]οὶ νεικ[ήσαν]-
	[τες τὰ] Ἐλλώτια]

It will be noticed that I have violated the officially proper order of the names of Commodus in that I have set Κομμόδου after Ἀντωνείνου. The only parallel I know for this is a fragment, *I.G.* XII, 3, 266 -NEINΩ KOMO-. But unless this order be adopted, the syllabic division of the words at the ends of the lines will have to be sacrificed, and this is contrary to the practice both of this and of other late Corinthian inscriptions.

VICTORS IN THE CAESAREA

68 (Inv. 379. Fig. 6, B). A thick marble block found in 1904, one metre below the modern level, south of St. John's church. It has been recut at the

¹ Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Demeter'.

² Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Hellotia'.

right for use as a Byzantine capital. When it was put to this use, the inscribed surface became the top. In a still later period it would appear that it was used as a door-step with the inscribed face up. A hole quite suitable to serve as the socket for a door to turn in is clear in the photograph. The result of this hard usage has been the obliteration of all but the first eleven lines of the inscription. The present dimensions of the block are H. 0.59 m., W. 0.249 m. (at top), 0.253 m. (at bottom), Th. 0.165 m. The letters have a height of about 0.01 m. ($\Phi = 0.02$ m.). The inscription is not elegantly cut; the letters are irregular and the lines uneven. Its date may well be the second century A.D.

οἱ νεικήσαντες τὰ Καισάρει[α· εἰς]
 Καίσαρα θεοῦ υἱὸν Σεβαστὸν
 Λογικῶι Ἐγκωμίωι
 Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Ἴων Κορίνθιος, ὁ καὶ Ἀ[ργεῖος (?)·]
 εἰς Τιβέριον Καίσαρα θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ υἱὸν
 Σεβαστὸν
 Λογικῶι Ἐγκωμίωι
 Γαῖος Ἰούλιος Ἴων Κορίνθιος, ὁ καὶ Ἀρ[γεῖος (?)·]
 εἰς θεὰν Ἰ[ο]υλίαν Σεβαστὴν
 Ποιήματι
 Γαῖος Κ[ά]σσιος Φλάκκος Συρα[κόσιος.]

Victors in the Caesarean Competitions
 With a Prose Encomium
 To the Glory of Caesar Augustus, son of Divus (Julius),
 Caius Julius Ion, citizen of Corinth and of Argos (?);
 With a Prose Encomium
 To the Glory of Tiberius Caesar Augustus, son of Divus
 Augustus,
 Caius Julius Ion, citizen of Corinth and of Argos (?);
 With a Poem
 To the Glory of Diva Julia Augusta,
 Caius Cassius Flaccus, citizen of Syracuse.

Line 1. The Caesarea were as widespread as was the city-name Caesarea. Games and cities were founded at the same time. The Caesarea are fully discussed in Daremberg and Saglio, *s.v.* As this inscription shows, the competitions were literary or musical rather than athletic. The Corinthian Caesarea are mentioned in an inscription of Thespiae, dated in the reign of Augustus, *I.G.* VII, 1856, *Καισάρεια ἐν Κορίνθῳ*, and on the various pedestals at Troezen and Corinth that once carried statues of Cn. Cornelius Pulcher, *I.G.* IV, 795, 1600 and No. 89 below (*πενταετηρικὸν ἀγωνοθέτην Καισαρείων Ἰσθμίων*).¹

¹See also L. R. Dean, 'Latin Inscriptions from Corinth,' *A.J.A.* XXII, 1918, p. 195.

Line 2. It was customary to have competitions in eulogizing the imperial personages in whose honor these games were instituted.¹

Line 4. The Corinthian and Syracusan victors bear honored Roman names, but are not, I believe, otherwise known.

69 *a* and *b* (Inv. 192, 198. Fig. 7, B). Two small fragments of white marble found in the excavations of 1902, at a high level above the east part of the Northwest Stoa. Fragment *a* certainly belongs to the inscription published by Powell, No. 12. It is the small piece in the middle photograph below.

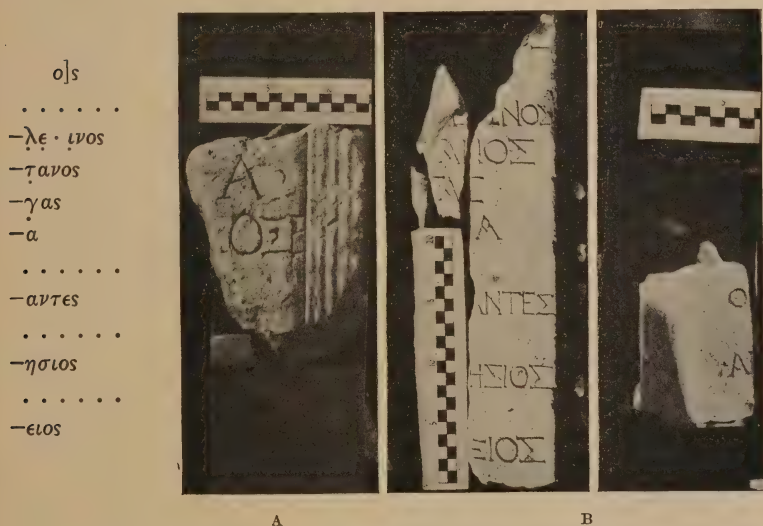


FIGURE 7.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH: Nos. 66, 69.

The larger is No. 12 itself. The new piece has the following dimensions: H. 0.153 m., W. 0.033 m., Th. 0.10 m. The letters are obviously of the same height, 0.02 m. They may be read as follows: Line 1, A or Λ and E; line 2, Γ or T; A and the vertical of N; line 3, Γ or T and A.

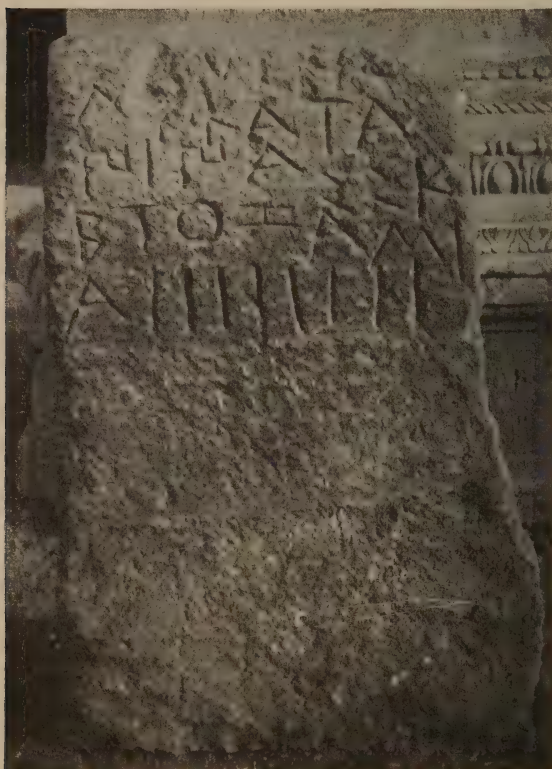
Fragment *b*, the photograph on the right above, is not so surely a part of this inscription; but it has the same peculiar shape and the letters are approximately the same size; H. of Θ=0.014 m., of A=0.017 m. In No. 12 on the right face, not visible in the above photograph, they are 0.015 m. The left face of this fragment is not inscribed, but that fact might be explained in many ways.

"NO TRESPASSING"

70 (Inv. 226. Fig. 8). A *poros* stele found *in situ* beside the ancient Greek road near the Old Spring leading up to the small fifth century temple that once stood there. H. 0.715 m., W. 0.48 m., Th. 0.174 m. (average). The

¹ Daremberg et Saglio, *s.v.* 'Ludi' and 'Laudatio'.

weathering proves that the left side of the road, on which the stone was placed, was graded down so that when this stele was set in vertically only 0.24 m. was covered at the left as against 0.28 m. at the right. In other words we possess the figures from which we can calculate that the side-dip of the road was at an angle of 16° . The stele narrows towards the top, its width at the level of the ground being 0.44 m., and at the present top 0.39 m. The original



[*Hóros*]
[*hiērós,*]
ἄστυλος.
μὴ κατα-
βιβασκ-
έτω · ζαμί-
α |||||

FIGURE 8.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 70.

top was undoubtedly narrower. The irregular cutting of the back has suggested that originally the stone was set against an uneven surface of natural rock.¹ If this view is correct, then the place in which it was found is not the only position in which the stele was used by the Greeks; for here it abuts upon the end of a terrace wall with which the cutting has no relation. At the bottom of the left side there is an irregular cutting in the stone like a pry-hole.

The shapes of the letters agree with the topographical data in dating the

¹ The suggestion of Mr. B. H. Hill on the analogy of several other stones at Corinth.

inscription in the early part of the fifth century B.C. The characteristic Corinthian letters of the sixth century: $\mathbf{M} = \mathbf{s}$, $\mathbf{\Sigma} = \mathbf{\iota}$ and $\mathbf{V} = \mathbf{v}$ have been displaced by $\mathbf{\Sigma} = \mathbf{s}$, $\mathbf{\iota} = \mathbf{\iota}$ and $\mathbf{V} = \mathbf{v}$; while $\mathbf{\beta} = \mathbf{\eta}$, $\mathbf{\epsilon}$, $\mathbf{\Gamma} = \mathbf{\beta}$, and $\mathbf{M} = \mathbf{\mu}$ have been retained.

The letters, varying in height from 0.034 m. to 0.06 m. do not possess the beauty of the letters in the more archaic dedications like Nos. 71-73. They are written in uneven lines irregularly spaced, and often negligently cut.

Line 1. The word at the top of the stone is certainly $\alpha\sigma\upsilon\lambda\omicron\varsigma$, although none of the letters is completely preserved and only the ends of the A are to be seen. This A and the M beneath it have been cut above the other letters in their respective lines. The explanation probably lies in the missing first line. For if all the lines had six letters, there would be no possibility of pushing up the initial letter into a vacant space above, especially as the stone narrows to the top. Assume, however, one line with five letters and the peculiarity is explicable. I restore HOPOΣ and imagine that the first lines once looked somewhat like this:

	H	O	P	O	Σ
	A	Ι	A	P	Σ
	Σ	Υ	Ι	O	Σ
M	β	κ	A	T	A
Γ	Ι	Γ	A	Σ	κ

Κράνα instead of $\delta\omicron\varsigma\iota\omicron\varsigma$ is possible, but is less likely, despite the proximity of a sacred fountain.¹ This is rather a boundary-stone like one of Tralles (Ditt. *Syll.*² 573), " $\text{Ὀρος ἱερὸς ἄστυλος Διονύσου Βάκχου· τὸν ἱκέτην μὴ ἀδικεῖν μηδὲ ἀδικούμενον περιορᾶν· εἰ δὲ μὴ, ἐξώλη εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ}$."

Line 4. On the omission of $\tau\iota\varsigma$ after $\mu\acute{\eta}$ in such general prohibitions ($\mu\acute{\eta}\tau\iota\varsigma = \mu\eta\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$), see Kühner-Gerth, I, p. 36.

$\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha\beta\iota\beta\alpha\sigma\sigma\acute{\kappa}\epsilon\tau\omega$. The syllabic division after $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ - is only accidental as the next line proves. In Corinth this refinement belongs to the epigraphy of the days succeeding both the *stoiche-don* and the space-filling arrangements, i.e. of the late third and early second centuries B.C. Cf. Nos. 61-65.

The iterative $\beta\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$, whether in its simple form or in a compound, occurs very rarely in Greek.² This recondite form may

¹ This restoration assumes that F has been dropped. Cf. Collitz-Bechtel, *G.D.I.* II, 3194 (Coreyra). But *id.* 3192 shows F (HOPFOΣ).

² $\beta\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$ in two minor Mss. as a variant of $\beta\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\omega$, Homer, *Il.* XV, 676 and XVI, 534; the accepted reading in Hom. *Hym. Apoll. Del.* 133. The compound $\epsilon\pi\iota\beta\iota\beta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\kappa\omega$ is found in Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* VI, 18 of copulation between animals. I have been unable to find any example of the compound in

have been employed to enhance the solemnity of the injunction. I understand it not as an inchoative, but as a frequentative, emphasizing the strong general prohibition. The syllabic doubling of σ before κ is, of course, a phenomenon of widespread occurrence. We have numerous examples of it from the immediate neighborhood of Corinth; e.g. *I.G.* I, 441, A, 5 (Cleonae); but this is the first known example from Corinth proper.

Line 7. The amount of the fine imposed for trespass is represented by eight vertical strokes. As the acro-phonic numeral system of Corinth is unknown, we are forced to conjecture that the value of the vertical stroke here was the same as that which prevailed almost without exception throughout the rest of the Greek world, viz., the obol. The only states in which this unit sign is known to stand for the drachma are Orchomenos, Karystos, and Nesos.¹ It seems hardly likely that the great commercial city of Corinth had a system in agreement with these isolated and comparatively insignificant states and differing from that of all the great states as well as of her neighbors and colonies.

But for this fact we should naturally argue that the fine was eight drachmae. Eight obols ought to be written as one drachma, two obols. The absence of a special sign for five drachmae is not surprising in view of the history of the numeral system of the neighboring Epidaurus. At Epidaurus there was no special sign for 5, 50, 500, or 5000 before the middle of the fourth century B.C. (Tod, *op. cit.*, p. 130). The Coans even as late as the third century B.C. wrote \vdash nine times for nine drachmae. The expression eight obols, however, is, so far as I know, without parallel.

It may well be queried, also, whether eight obols is a large enough fine for the offense. This seems at first thought to have been nothing but a matter of trespassing on ground beside the road. More thorough study of the region has, however, revealed a more serious (or amusing?) state of affairs. The foundations of what must once have been a small temple containing an altar lie at the top of the ascending road on the left side of which, near the temple, this "No Trespassing" stone was found. The area to the left of the road gave access to a secret passage cut in the solid rock that terminated underground at the base of the altar in a megaphone-shaped opening. All the apparatus for oracular deception! Here was no ordinary area to be kept clear. It was made forbid-

¹ M. N. Tod, 'The Greek Numerical Notation,' *B.S.A.* XVIII, 1911-12, pp. 98 ff., and *J.H.S.* XXXIII, 1913, pp. 34 ff.

den ground to prevent close examination of the terrace-wall in which was the masked entrance to the secret passage. Would even eight drachmae be a large enough fine to secure for this spot the desired immunity from curious eyes?¹

To the two arguments that I have brought forward in favor of interpreting the eight strokes as drachmae, viz., (1) that eight obols should be written as one drachma, two obols, and (2) that eight obols is too small a fine for the offense, something can be said in rejoinder. The sum may have been written out in this full manner for two reasons: for the sake of impressiveness, and in order to fill out the last line of the inscription. The small fine may have been preferred to a larger one for the very reason that a larger fine would have aroused suspicions. At the same time, the eight obols were to exercise their full influence and not be reduced to three figures.

Even eight drachmae was a small fine as fines went in old Greek days. Not to mention the huge fines in talents imposed in several historic instances, we read in the Teian law (Ditt. *Syll.*² 523) that the penalty for infringement of the law was 10,000 drs. Refusal on the part of the *ἱεροὶ* and *ἱεραὶ* at Andania to take the oath was punished by a fine of 1,000 drs. (Ditt. *Syll.*² 653). Cutting down trees in a *ἱερόν* entailed a fine of 500 drs., and letting cattle graze in the same place one of 100 drs. (Ditt. *Syll.*² 790). We approach more nearly to the eight drachmae in the Andanian fine of 20 drs. for failure to obey market regulations, for tampering with the water-supply, and for other similar offences (Ditt. *Syll.*² 653), and in the maximum fine of 5 drs. for *ἀδίκημα* in the Amphiaraeum (Ditt. *Syll.*² 589). Smaller than either eight drachmae or eight obols is the fine of one drachma levied in Ceos upon *νέωτρες* who failed to appear for athletic contests (Ditt. *Syll.*² 522).

It can be seen that none of the arguments we have raised in favor of interpreting these marks as drachmae is conclusive. Hence it seems preferable to interpret them as obols in harmony with common Greek usage.

¹ This interpretation is due to Mr. B. H. Hill, Director of the American School at Athens. I have given only the facts essential to my argument. When the whole story is told, it will be both a fascinating contribution to our knowledge of ancient modes of oracular deception and a striking testimony to Mr. Hill's penetrating insight and imagination.

III

DEDICATIONS

ARTAMO—

71 (Inv. 176. Fig. 9). The upper part of a pedestal in the shape of a small Doric column of soft *poros* stone, once coated with that fine stucco which is found at Corinth only on monuments of the sixth and earlier centuries B.C. Found in 1902 between the scarped rock on Temple Hill and the shops on the western side of the Lechaëum Road, in a stratum of earth characteristically Byzantine. Hence, its original location is largely a matter of conjecture. Perhaps it should be assigned to the precinct of Apollo, whose temple stood close by on the west. Dimensions: H. 0.345 m., Diam. 0.33 m. There are sixteen channels, each 0.065 m. wide; their depth (only approximately determined because of the destruction of all the arrises) is about 0.004 m. A moulding, 0.07 m. wide, once encircled the top. It is now too mutilated for us to tell whether or not it once had the form of a Doric echinus. In the centre of the top is a round hole 0.05 m. in diameter, and 0.075 m. deep, apparently for the dowel by which the statue or other dedication was fastened to the pedestal.

The inscription is cut in one of the channels. The letters, written retrograde, read from the top downwards in the normal archaic fashion. H. of letters, 0.035 m., excepting O which is 0.017 m. They are splendid examples of sixth century calligraphy, being cut with regularity, accuracy, and a fine feeling for proportion. The alphas, "standing on one leg," in Wilhelm's apt phrase, remind us of those on the similar Attic column which has been associated with

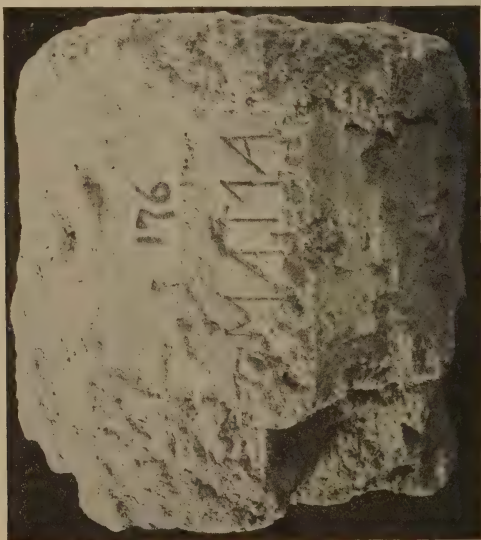


FIGURE 9.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 71.

the great Callimachus. But this Corinthian pedestal seems older than the early fifth century B.C. The material, the stucco, and the direction of the writing are all characteristic of sixth century inscriptions.

Beyond the O no trace of any letter can be detected. It is hard to tell whether this is due to the present condition of the stone, or merely indicates the fact that our inscription was limited to one word, and that a woman's name ending in ω : 'Αρταμῷ a Corinthian form of 'Αρτεμῷ, analogous to "Αρταμυς for "Αρτεμυς, which is found in inscriptions of the Argolid, Corinth, Megara, and Boeotia (Meyer, *Gr. Gram.*³ p. 102). If the inscription was once longer, the dedicant may have been an 'Αρτάμων (Corinthian for 'Αρτέμων); or, if we are looking for an hexameter, ἄρταμος=ὁ ἄρταμος would offer a parallel to the Calabrian butcher's dedication (*I.G.A.* 543). As a metrical inscription, however, ought to occupy more than one channel of the column, this last supposition is of little worth. Hence I would read either 'Αρταμῷ, or 'Αρτάμω[ν ἀνέθηκε].

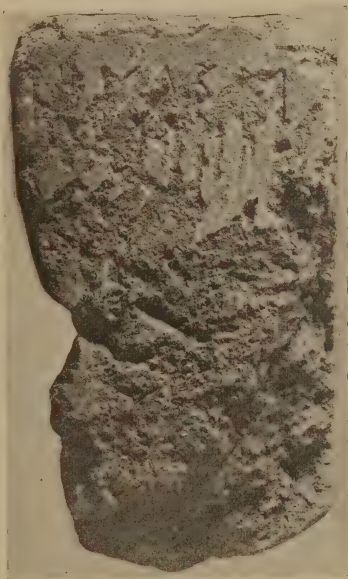


FIGURE 10.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 72.

72 (Inv. 301. Fig. 10). A *poros* block, broken at left and bottom. H. 0.41 m., W. 0.227 m., Th. 0.27 m. Found before 1900, but exact date and place of finding not recorded. The finest type of early Corinthian stucco is preserved on the upper part of the front face. The inscription consists now of only five and a half letters of the most archaic type, but exhibits the same monumental calligraphy as No. 71. H. of letters: 0.039 m. Date: first half of the sixth century B.C.

— Μ Υ Μ Α Ξ Μ

—συναίς

73 (Inv. 256. Fig. 11). Block of *poros*. H. 0.214 m., W. 0.472 m., Th. 0.484. Found in 1902 near the north end of the shops on the Lechaem Road. Broken along the top of the front face and worn on its right edge. Careful cuttings for Z-clamps in each of the sides and a concave cutting 0.07 m. deep

and 0.15 m. in diameter in what was originally the bottom prove a re-use of the stone in very early times. As a result it is impossible to tell whether the stone was once larger or not.

The inscription has been practically obliterated. H. of letters 0.03 m., the O, which is made with compasses, is only 0.022 m. Traces of red coloring may be observed in a few letters.

Line 1. P is the first letter which can be read with any certainty. Preceding this appear two vertical hastae. The stone does not permit us to interpret them as San. The one before P



FIGURE 11.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 73.

is probably T, the first may be the last stroke of a San. The fracture at the left runs up just within the spot where the first vertical hasta would begin. The letter following P is A. The transverse hasta is visible in its upper half. Widely spaced there follows the vertical shaft of a tall T; then comes a broken O, and quite distinctly TOM(=s)A. The next letter looks like a N but I suspect it is a M. There is room for still another letter like A. As restored the line is iambic or trochaic.

Line 2. ΓOM(=s) are the first legible letters. It looks as if another Γ preceded the first. Nothing else can be deciphered on this part of the stone. The clamp-cutting has removed one or two letters and the fracturing to the left of the clamp has destroyed another. Of this last only the apex of A, Δ, M or N, is preserved. Close to the right edge of the clamp-cutting it is

perhaps possible to decipher N, but this is a deduction more from the strokes that are absent than from those that are present. The next four letters are fairly clear: $\Xi \top \circ \Sigma (= \iota)$. If there was another letter beyond these, all traces have disappeared.

It is sad that the stone is so mutilated. The engraver's work was beautifully executed. That fact stands out as one certainty where so much is obscure. But the softness and fragility of the material, which must have meant the early annihilation of many of Corinth's archaic monuments, has in this case also been the ruin of most, if not all, of a once artistic inscription. My efforts to read the inscription have borne little fruit. The following transliteration will indicate the present state of my mind on the problem:

—σ[τ]ράτο τὸ σᾶμ[α]
—π[ο]ς α . γέτοι

I am aware, of course, that a genitive ending \bar{o} , not ov , is unique for Corinth.

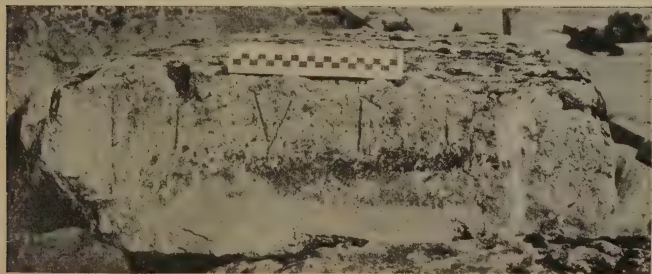
We may have in this stone the pedestal of a statue erected over a grave.

XENYLLOS

74 (Inv. 22. Fig. 12). An oblong block of *poros* stone, found in 1902 in the late top course of the terrace-wall between the shops on the Lechaëum Road and the Propylaea. H. 0.223 m., W. 0.705 m., Th. 0.96 m. Broken or cut down on all faces except the front. H. of letters, 0.07 m.

Ξένυλλον

At the left of the first letter, Ξ , the tips of the two lower hori-



Ξ Β Γ Δ Ε Ζ Η Θ

FIGURE 12.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 74.

zontal hastae of a Ξ can be made out on the stone. The second τ has lost its oblique stroke but there is no question that λ and not ι is to be read. An artificial cutting has removed almost half of the O ; and of the last letter, V , only the apex is left.

Without doubt it is a block from some important archaic Corinthian monument. This is indicated by the large, widely spaced letters. The genitive also calls for one or more other words on other equally large blocks. It may be compared with No. 78. It is the oldest instance after *I.G.* IV, 1597 of the Corinthian genitive form in $-ov$ carved in stone. The upsilon is in its later form V , not the older Υ which appears in No. 72 and prevails on the vases and tablets of the first half of the sixth century B.C. The Υ form is seen on the helmet dedicated by Hieron at Olympia, and on the slab recording the victory at Tanagra, which was set with the golden *patera* at the peak of the pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia.¹ It is also to be read in the "No Trespassing" inscription, No. 70. The inscription under discussion must belong to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the fifth century B.C.

For the form of the name cf. $\Piεισ\acute{\upsilon}[\lambdaος]$, No. 65.

TIMOLEON (?)

75 (Inv. 431). A broken pedestal of greyish blue limestone (Fig. 13) found in 1907 in the foundations of an early Byzantine house just south of the church of St. John. H. 0.31 m., W. 0.91 m., Th. 0.905 m. The left side is cut in the

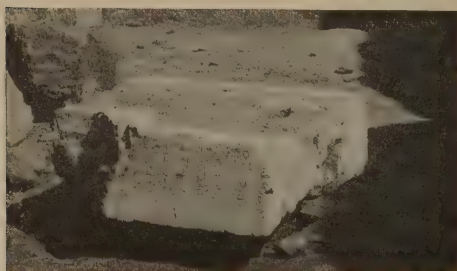


FIGURE 13.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: NO. 75, GENERAL VIEW.

familiar manner to make a joint with an adjoining stone but the front corner on this side is broken away. The surface of the joint seems to be Roman. Corresponding with it can be seen on the top of the stone two cuttings for clamps and others for the pry and dowel (Fig. 14). The right side, although most of it is broken away, shows the same joint surface as the left. All these are traces of a re-use of the stone

in Roman times, perhaps in the period of re-building the city, 44 B.C. Either then or later still it formed the ninth block in a series. On the back appears

¹For a recent publication of these two inscriptions see Nachmanson, *Historische Griechische Inschriften*, Nos. 16 and 17.

the Roman numeral VIII cut upside down. The excavations have revealed near-by two other blocks of the same limestone, similarly numbered VIII and X respectively, but without inscriptions.

Of the original smooth top surface all but a little along the front edge and left corner has been chiselled away (Fig. 14). This chiselling has not gone deep enough to remove two foot-shaped sockets that belong without a doubt to the original pedestal. Their Lysippean position can be seen in the drawing. The left foot of the bronze statue was set to the front. The socket for its leaden attachment has been cut in half by the re-dressing of the right side of the block. The socket for the attachment of the right foot is clearly outlined a little back of the right centre. Its length is 0.223 m. The length of the other socket was approximately the same. This means that the statue was fully life-sized. There are no grounds of certainty that only a single statue stood upon this pedestal, but my interpretation of the inscription makes me believe that this was the case. If we assume this as a working hypothesis, and assume further that the statue stood approximately in the centre of its pedestal, by doubling the distance from the left side to a line midway between the two feet we arrive at 1.60–1.70 m. as the original width. To be sure, the left face is not the original, but it seems safe to suppose the original surface has only been worked over, as the shortening was clearly done from the right end. This length (or width) gives us a pedestal proportionally as much longer than No. 76 as it is thicker from front to back.

The surviving portion of the inscription tells us that it consisted of five lines and the beginning of a sixth (Fig. 15). The last word in the inscription ends at the left of our fragment. The letters, 0.025 m. high, are square and simple, without the elegance of the letters in No. 76, and show a tendency towards

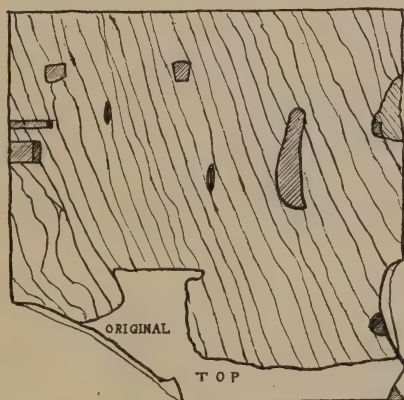


FIGURE 14.—TOP OF NO. 75.

the curvilinear. They remind one of those on the Lysippus pedestal, No. 5, and certainly are to be dated soon after the middle of the fourth century B.C. They are arranged in columns. Our fragment contains letters from ten of these. For some reason the last two columns are oblique instead of vertical. This device is usually employed by the Greek stone cutter when he finds himself crowded for space and must insert extra letters at the ends of

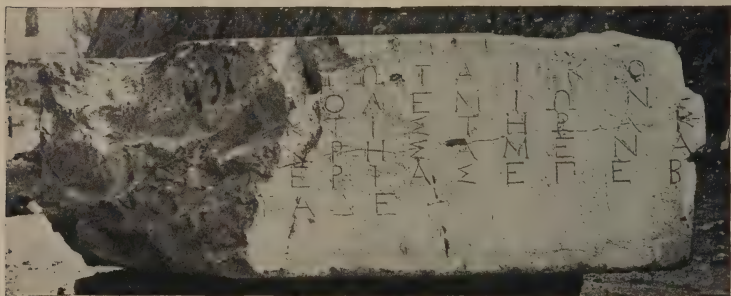


FIGURE 15.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 75.

lines which strict adherence to the columnar arrangement would forbid. No such cause operates here. There was plenty of room. Perhaps the misplaced Ω in line 2 started the trouble. The letters of the first line are widely spaced. The stonecutter may have realized when he had cut the P under Ω that if A and the rest of its column stood directly under the N and the O the appearance of the inscription would be marred by an ugly hiatus at this point. He, therefore, might choose to sacrifice perfect vertical arrangement in order to bring about equal spacing between the letters.

I read the inscription as follows:

[.]ιῶται Κο[.]
 [. ἀπὸ τῶν] πολεμίων ἀ[.]
 [.]κτιστῆρα κ[.]
 [.] χρησαμένα[.]
 [. . ἐλευ]θερίας ἐπέβ[α]
 [.] ταδε.

The only restorations which appear to me to be certain are those I have given above. A number of suggestions for completing the other words and some of the lines I shall take up after

discussing the historical event which I believe this monument commemorated.

First, a word on some of the doubtful letters.

Line 1. I before Ω might be T so far as the stone is concerned.

Line 2. The letter before O is certainly Γ; the last letter beyond N is A.

Line 3. The first two letters are KT.

Line 5. The break before E traces the curve of a Θ.

Line 6. The first letter is doubtful. The horizontal stroke may be only a scratch above an I. The two strokes do not actually touch as in the other examples of T in the inscription. Still I prefer to read T.

If the length of the pedestal was 1.60–1.70 m., as calculated above, there would be room on the stone for two more letters before *ἐλευθερίας*, for eight before I in line 1, and for seven before Γ in line 2, before K in line 3, and before X in line 4. At the right some 13 columns could be supplied.

Enough of the inscription is preserved with its reference to "enemies," "founder," and "freedom" (by restoration), to warrant us in attempting to connect it with some military event in the history of Corinth. We have guessed above that the date was near the middle of the fourth century B.C. I should be surprised if it was much later than Chaeronea, 338 B.C. (Corinthian troops did stand by the Athenians and Thebans on that field, but the issue of the day could hardly have prompted the Corinthians to commemorate it in just this manner.) And yet the striking fact about the preceding generation is Corinth's complete aloofness from the discords that reigned throughout Greece.

Worn out by the constant warfare in which she had shared with few interruptions for nearly a century, Corinth withdrew from an active rôle in Greek politics four years before the battle of Mantinea. She refused to become embroiled in the struggles between Sparta and the Theban-Arcadian combination. During the Sacred War against Phocis she acted the characteristic part of a neutral by being the market in which the *Ναοποιοί* procured the stone for rebuilding the temple of Apollo. In two of the years, 351 and 349, a Corinthian cast one of the two Dorian votes in the Amphictyonic League but this did not draw Corinth into the war (Ditt. *Syll.*² 140).

External peace, however, never gave a Greek state assurance

of internal quiet. In fact, the mercenaries which Corinth had hired to keep her safe in her neutrality¹ made it possible for Timophanes to establish a temporary tyranny. Philip of Macedon split the city into two factions, but just before Chaeronea Demosthenes achieved one of his diplomatic triumphs in swinging so large a majority to the Athenian side that Corinth actually gave up her long policy of isolation to fight the Macedonian.² Clearly, this generation did not find Corinth wholly peaceful; yet it was not celebrating victories over its neighbors. During this entire period Corinth's name is associated with only one military exploit. Fortunately that one shows many surprising points of contact with the language of our inscription. I refer to Timoleon's liberation of the Sicilian cities, 344-336 B.C.

However rigidly Corinth might hold herself aloof from politics nearer home, she could not turn a deaf ear to the many appeals for assistance that came to her at this time from her best-beloved colony, Syracuse. As in the days of Dionysius I she had sent the unfortunate Nicoteles to reconcile the Syracusan people with their tyrant, as in the days of Dion she had sent counsellors to help in the establishment of a Platonic state in Syracuse, so also in the days when Dionysius II set up his tyranny for the second time, Corinth once more listened to her favorite colony's call for help. We are told that there was great enthusiasm in Corinth over the project of sending a military force to depose the tyrant. But when it came to deeds, not words, it was found that the Corinthians were as averse to personal service as the contemporary Athenians and hardly as generous in their financial outlay as the reputed wealth of Corinth might have led one to expect. Not even the heart-rending story of the colonists could induce more than a handful to volunteer and only enough money was voted to provide 1000 mercenaries and seven triremes. Diodorus (XVI, 66, 2) puts the number of mercenaries as low as 700. This force was somewhat augmented later by contingents picked up at Leucas and Corcyra. But it would have been a pitifully discouraging response if the Syracusans had not remembered that the success that had attended Dion on his return from exile had been gained with an even smaller force than this which was being sent out under the leadership of Timoleon.

If ever a Greek deserved the honor of a commemorative statue,

¹ Xenophon, *Hellen.* VII, 4, '6; Plut. *Timol.* 4.

² Demosth. *De Cor.* 237 and 295.

Timoleon surely did. He freed Syracuse from the tyrant Dionysius within the gates and from the Carthaginian foe without. The sight of "the supreme monarch of Sicily loitering about the fish-market" was one of the earliest proofs to Corinth of Timoleon's heaven-blest skill and fortune. Then came the jewelled shields, a small part of the enormous treasure in gold, silver, and jewel-studded weapons and armor which fell to the victors after the Carthaginian rout on the Crimesus. These were sent to be dedicated as thank-offerings in the temples of the gods, as the inscription recorded by Plutarch (on the authority of Timaeus?), declares (*Timol.* 29): Κορίνθιοι καὶ Τιμολέων ὁ στρατηγὸς ἐλευθερώσαντες τοὺς Σικελίαν οἰκοῦντας Ἑλλήνας ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων χαριστήρια θεοῖς ἀνέθηκαν. Then when he had crowned his military victories by that rarest of achievements, renunciation of power, and had spent his last days in guiding as a private, but revered, citizen the steps of the revived democracy, Corinth heard that at his death he was accorded the honors of a hero and that the following proclamation was made at his funeral: Ὁ δῆμος ὁ Συρακουσίων Τιμολέοντα Τιμοδήμον Κορίνθιον τόνδε θάπτει μὲν* διακοσίω μνῶν, ἐτίμησε δ' εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον ἀγῶσι μουσικοῖς, ἵππικοῖς, γυμνικοῖς, ὅτι τοὺς τυράννους καταλύσας καὶ τοὺς βαρβάρους καταπολεμήσας καὶ τὰς μεγίστας τῶν ἀναστάτων πόλεων οἰκίσας ἀπέδωκε τοὺς νόμους τοῖς Σικελιώταις.¹ A magnificent monument was erected to his memory in the Market of Syracuse. Despite the silence of history we cannot believe that nothing was done to honor him in his own city. Diodorus (XVI, 83) tells us that in Sicily the Sicilians raised many ἀναθήματα to commemorate their renewed liberties. May they not have been moved also to devote some of the money derived from the sale of the booty taken at the Crimesus to the erection of a statue of Timoleon in Corinth? It was at approximately this time certainly that some fine bronze statue was unveiled in Corinth and its cost was met ἀπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. I believe that it was a statue of Timoleon, son of Timodemos, liberator and restorer of Sicily. Whether it was erected by Sicilians or by his fellow-citizens must be decided by the inscription on the pedestal.

As I have already stated, the fragmentary words in our inscription would be exceedingly appropriate to a statue of Timoleon. And this will appear more clearly as we consider possible restorations of the incomplete words.

¹ Plut. *Timol.* 39; Diodor. XVI, 90.

Line 1. $\text{-}\iota\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ can be the end of either $\Sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\iota\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ or $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\omega\tau\alpha\iota$, mercenaries. Prefix the definite article, $\tau\omicron\iota$, and the space at the left is exactly filled. I think the former is the more probable restoration, although it must be remembered that it was largely the devotion of the mercenaries, despite the defection of 1000 just before Crimesus, that made Timoleon's triumphs possible.¹

Kor- might be restored as Κορινθίων if $\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\iota\omega\tau\alpha\iota$ were read just before it. Κόραι is another possibility. Objections to it are that dedications to Kora alone are extremely rare. Her name is regularly associated with Demeter's and in this combination Demeter's name regularly precedes. Still it may be argued that Sicily was peculiarly Kora's isle² and that the Sicilians may have dedicated this to her alone, or may have set her name before her mother's here, because of her greater importance in their eyes. Plutarch's account says that it was the priestesses of Kora alone that saw the vision in which the two goddesses declared their intention of accompanying the expedition. At the same time, he says that the sacred trireme conveyed both the goddesses to Sicily, and Diodorus's account ascribes the dream to the priestesses of both goddesses. There were statues of both goddesses in Corinth and presumably they shared one temple, but this is left uncertain in Pausanias's description (II, 4, 7). Our pedestal was not found *in situ* and cannot help in locating their precinct, which Pausanias's words imply was at some distance from the Market on the road to Acrocorinth.

Still another possibility is the name of the eponymous founder of Corinth. Korinthos appears to have been worshipped in Corinth and κτιστῆρα below could be used to support this restoration. Korinthos, however, is a very inconspicuous person even in local legend and seems unlikely to appear here unless we give up the attempt to associate this pedestal with Timoleon. Korinthos has no importance in that story, whereas Kora and Demeter occupy a conspicuous place. Yet if the shields sent to Corinth after Crimesus could be dedicated to Poseidon, as Diodorus says (XVI, 80), it was plainly thought unnecessary to give all the honor to the two goddesses. So we must not exclude the possi-

¹ As an example of a dedication by mercenaries see Ditt. *Syll.*² 273.

² Plut. *Timol.* 8: $\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota\ \gamma\alpha\rho\ \iota\epsilon\rho\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \tau\eta\varsigma\ \text{Κόρης}\ \tau\eta\eta\ \Sigma\kappa\epsilon\lambda\iota\alpha\upsilon\ \epsilon\pi\epsilon\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\acute{\alpha}\ \pi\epsilon\rho\iota\ \tau\eta\eta\ \acute{\alpha}\rho\pi\alpha\gamma\eta\eta\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\theta\iota\ \mu\upsilon\theta\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\upsilon\sigma\iota\ \gamma\epsilon\acute{\nu}\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\eta\eta\ \nu\eta\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon\ \epsilon\kappa\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \gamma\acute{\alpha}\mu\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\kappa\alpha\lambda\upsilon\pi\tau\eta\tau\eta\mu\omicron\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\ \delta\omicron\delta\eta\tau\alpha\iota.$

bility that this statue was dedicated to Korinthos. The dedicatory inscription for the shields as given by Plutarch, which I have quoted above, speaks indefinitely of "gods," *χαριστήρια θεοῖς*.

Line 2. [ἀπὸ τῶν] πολεμίων would be parallel to ἀπὸ Καρχηδονίων in the dedicatory inscription for the shields given above.

A— suggests ἀνέθηκαν or something similar.

Line 3. *κτιστήρα* gives us in *κτιστήρ* a hitherto undocumented dialectic variant of the Attic *κτίστης*. There are many similar doublets known. The following list gives a few of the forms in *-τηρ* that were used in the Doric territory around Corinth:¹

<i>ἄρμωστήρ</i>	(Lac. Cythera <i>I.G.</i> V, 1, 937, 2)	<i>ἄρμωστής</i> , Attic.
<i>ἐγδοστήρ</i>	(Lac. <i>I.G.</i> V, 1, 4, 13, 14; 5, 11, 12; Epidaur. <i>I.G.</i> V, 1485, B, 45; cf. Corinth, No. 61)	<i>ἐκδότης</i> , Attic.
<i>ἔσδοστήρ</i>	(Tegea, <i>I.G.</i> V, 2, 6, 6)	" "
<i>κονιαστήρ</i>	(Epidaur. <i>I.G.</i> V, 1484, 251)	<i>κονιατής</i> Attic.
<i>κριτήρ</i>	(Mycenae, <i>I.G.</i> V, 493)	<i>κριτής</i> Attic.

Others for which the Attic has no exact parallel are the following:

<i>εἰητήρ</i>	(Epidaur. <i>I.G.</i> V, 1259)	<i>ιατρός</i> , Attic.
<i>τερμαστήρ</i>	(Epidaur. <i>I.G.</i> V, 926, 85)	<i>δριστής</i> Attic.
<i>φραδατήρ</i>	(Sicilian, <i>G.D.I.</i> 3241, 3242)	<i>ἐρμηνεύς</i> Attic.

Besides *κτίστης*, the form *κτίστωρ* is found in older poetry, e.g. Pindar, *Frg.* 71. As to whether we are dealing with poetry or not in this inscription, see below in my discussion of the final letters.

The common Attic word is *οἰκιστής*. *Κτίστης* is first used by Aristotle, e.g. *Frg.* 507. In inscriptions it is found quite commonly from the third century on. These two words are not identical in meaning. The former, *οἰκιστής*, never altogether detached itself from the idea of "the colony." It began to go out of use as colonizing ceased. *Κτίστης* never implies a colony excepting in Aristotle, and as it reminds us of the long used *κτίζω*. The foundations to which it applies are more institutional, e.g. *I.G.* VII, 2712, 58; XII, 3, 1124; XIV, 1759. The word was little more than an honorary title from the start and this is its regular

¹ The latest and most thorough study of this class of endings is that by Fraenkel, *Geschichte d. griech. Nomina Agentis auf -τηρ, -τωρ, -της(-τ)*. See also Rutherford, *Phryn.* 57 ff.

epigraphical force.¹ While *οικιστής* keeps its original meaning for the most part, we can see in its use at times the seeds of the purely honorary meaning which might have developed if a special word had not been found in *κτίστης*. Thucydides, for example (V, 11, 1), says that the Amphipolitans after the death of Brasidas called him their *οικιστής* in place of Hagnon, the original Athenian "founder." Plutarch (*Timol.* 23), also, calls by the name *οικισταί* the two Corinthian commissioners who helped the Syracusans reorganize their government after Timoleon had removed the tyrant. These two passages furnish us with two successive steps in the development of the meaning. Brasidas receives the honors of a "founder," but only by the erasure of Hagnon's name from the records. In the days of Thucydides there is not yet room for more than one "founder." The Corinthian commissioners receive the honored title merely for a work of political reorganisation. The next step was to give the title to any benefactor. But this meaning was reserved to *κτίστης*.

I consider our word *κτιστήρ*, which in form is more closely related to *κτίστης*, to be used in this inscription in the later sense of *οικιστής*. *Κτίστης* itself may have begun life with just this meaning and only have lost its hold on reality as the demand for honorary epithets increased. There are a few later examples in which it happens to be so used, *e.g.* Ditt. *O.G.I.* 471, 10. Timoleon was not, like Brasidas, substituted in the place of the original founder. Archias was himself a Corinthian. It would have been bad manners to set up one Corinthian in the place of another. So Timoleon *ὥσπερ οἰκιστὴς ἡγάπατο* (Plut. *Timol.* 35).

This word is one of the strongest links between our pedestal and Timoleon. The historians take pains to record this attitude of the Sicilians towards him. He had overthrown the tyrants in Engyum, Apollonia, Leontini, Catana, Messana, Acragas, and Gela. "*Civibus veteribus sua restituit, novis bello vacuefactas possessiones divisit, urbium moenia disiecta fanaque deserta refecit, civitatibus leges libertatemque reddidit: ex maximo bello tantum otium totae insulae conciliavit ut hic conditor urbium earum, non illi qui initio deduxerant, videretur*" (Nepos, *Timol.* 3, 1). In the words of the funeral proclamation, quoted above, he had founded, or in the version of Diodorus, re-founded (*ἀνοικίσας*), the great-

¹ See Dittenberger's note, *Orientalis Graeci Inscriptiones*, 492. Examples are too numerous to need citation. One literary example well illustrates its technical use: Lucian, *Macrob.* 13 calls Mithridates *ὁ προσαγορευθεὶς κτίστης*.

est of the ruined cities. Furthermore, to a certain extent he really deserved the title of "founder." The Sicilian cities had been so depopulated that to secure immediate development he summoned from Greece large numbers of new inhabitants who came to the island in much the spirit of colonists. He enabled Sicily to get a fresh start. To no one of the time could *κτιστήρα* more appropriately apply than to Timoleon.

K— at the end of the line might be the initial of *καί*. Following this might be restored *σωτήρα* or *εὐεργέταν*. The former was applied to Brasidas by the people of Amphipolis (Thuc. V, 11, 1). The latter would just fill out the line. Each is often found paired with *κτίστης* in the later honorary inscriptions.

Line 4. *χρησαμενα* is of doubtful import. The words of the next line tell of a freedom which must have followed upon a condition of servitude. This word may have been used with *δουλεία*, or the like, in the sense of "having experienced." Compare the words of Nepos, *Timol.* 1, 1: "*a Syracusanis . . . iam inveteratam servitutem depelleret totamque Siciliam, multos annos bello vexatam a barbarisque oppressam, suo adventu in pristinum restitueret.*" This form in the singular might depend on a word like *Σικελία*. If an iota be added, it might depend on *πόλει* or the like.

Line 5. My restoration *ἐλευθερίας ἐπέβᾱ*, plausible in itself,¹ is another phrase that links this pedestal peculiarly to Timoleon. *Ἐλευθερία* for the Sicilian cities is the keynote of all the accounts of his exploit: Diodor. XVI, 65, 9, *πᾶσαν δὲ Σικελίαν ἡλευθέρωσε*. 82, 3, *ὥστε τὰς μὲν Ἑλληνίδας πόλεις ἀπάσας ἐλευθέρας εἶναι*. 82, 4, *τοὺς ἐλευθερωθέντας Συρακοσίους ἐποίησε, καθόλου δὲ πάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν νῆσον τυράννους ριζολογήσας καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἐλευθερώσας κτλ.* Plut. *Timol.* 10, *συνελευθεροῦν τὴν Σικελίαν*. 22, *ἀρχὴν ἐλευθερίας ποιησάμενοι βεβαιοτάτην τὸ κήρυγμα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ἐκείνην*. 24, *βομλόμενος ὁ Τιμολέων καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πόλεις ἐλευθερώσαι*. See also the passages previously quoted. The funeral proclamation as given by Diodorus, XVI, 90, ends with the words *αἴτιος ἐγενήθη τῆς ἐλευθερίας τοῖς Σικελιώταις*.

Here as in the preceding line the plural may be restored as well as the singular.

Line 6. The few letters of this line, whether read as *τάδε*, *-ίαδε* = *ἰᾷδε* or *ἰηδε*, or even *-ι ᾄδε* = *ἦδε*, bring up the question whether

¹ Cf. *ἐπιβαίνειν* used with *εὐφροσύνης*, Od. XXIII, 52; *δόξης*, Soph. *Philoct.* 1463; *εὐσεβίας*, Soph. *Oed. Col.* 189.

the inscription is not metrical. If the alpha is short, it offers an elegiac ending, if long, an hexameter. It is hard to conceive of a prose dedication ending with any of the demonstratives which suggest themselves here. And I know of no verb or any probable noun with local suffix to assure us that we are dealing with prose. As we look back over the preceding lines, we can see that the third, fourth, and fifth easily fit into hexameters. The first might, but only with a harsh diaeresis, and certainly the restorations I have suggested are not dactylic. The question seems to be settled, at least for the first two lines, by *πολεμίων* in the second line. To work this into dactylic measure would require a harsh synizesis which is found, I believe, only in the case of proper names, *e.g.* Ἀσκληπιῶνι, and Πυθίων.¹ Possibly, the fact is that the first two lines are prose and the remainder verse. The simple formula of dedication may have been followed by a laudatory epigram.

So many lines of restoration offer themselves that I have refrained from committing myself to any one. Even without restoration the historical interest of the stone can be appreciated. I have set forth the arguments which convince me that it is the pedestal for a statue of Timoleon erected either by the Sicilians or the mercenaries who served under him in commemoration of his famous Sicilian enterprise.

76 (Inv. 205. Fig. 16). A pedestal of dark blue limestone with joint-surface at left. H. 0.275 m., W. 1.18 m., Th. 0.541 m. Found in 1902 on the



FIGURE 16.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 76.

¹ F. D. Allen, 'Greek Versification in Inscriptions,' *Papers of the American School at Athens*, IV, p. 104.

ancient Greek roadway leading from the Lechaëum Road to the small apsidal Greek temple. In the immediate neighborhood many tiny inscribed fragments of blue limestone have been recovered, most of them too small for separate publication and not sufficiently similar to come from one pedestal whether this one or some other. Only one of them is sufficiently like this inscription to be published with it, No. 77. Their number and character make it appear probable that the street was bordered by a row of statues set on similar dark blue pedestals erected at intervals throughout the city's history. The importance of the street is thereby indicated. Even this largest pedestal is badly damaged. As may be seen from the accompanying drawing (Fig. 17) as well



FIGURE 17.—TOP OF NO. 76.

as from the photograph, five-sixths of the top is gone; only two patches of the original top surface are left, one between the cuttings for the feet of a statue at the centre, the other in the back left-hand corner. The inscribed face also has been so completely wrecked that, when found, only four and a half letters were left. To-day as the photograph shows, only two and a half remain. So easily does this stone chip.

The letters of the inscription are small, 0.014 m. in height, a size often repeated in the tiny fragments found near at hand. Cut with accuracy and sharpness between ruled alignment lines which are clearly visible, they are letters of the finest type of the fourth century B.C. When found the letters $\text{I} \leq \Gamma \text{A} \text{N}$ were read. Above them there is space for another line of letters, as they stand 0.05 m. below the top.

The cuttings in the top of the block bear witness to the former existence of a group of at least two human figures on this pedestal. One of life-size was standing at the centre with both feet planted firmly, the right turned more to the side and slightly in advance of the left. Of the other figure only one foot-socket is preserved. There is also a large semi-circular cutting near the left edge of the stone. The weathering of the front face has produced near the bottom a line clearly indicating the depth to which our stone was set into a lower block, viz. 0.017 m. On the back the big boss by means of which the pedestal was handled when being set in place still remains.

77 (Inv. 206. Fig. 18 A). A tiny fragment of dark blue limestone like the preceding, No. 76, near which it was found in 1902. H. 0.035 m., W. 0.178 m., Th. 0.145 m. It bears the letters $\text{A} \leq$ and then the vertical hasta of another. In height, 0.014 m., and style of cutting these letters are precisely the same as those seen on No. 76. This small piece may have been broken out of the first

line. That it comes from some first line is proved by the finished face, however small, 0.02 m. above the letters. But, while there is room, it cannot be fitted to No. 76 anywhere. A point of disagreement is that this fragment does not exhibit the alignment rulings found on the large stone.

THRASIPPOS

78 (Inv. 207. Fig. 18, B). Fragment from the upper left-hand corner of a pedestal of dark blue limestone. Found in 1902 in the same place as Nos. 76 and 77. H. 0.128 m., W. 0.24 m., Th. 0.068 m. The original left face is preserved. It is perfectly smooth. A bit of the top also remains, 0.023 m. above

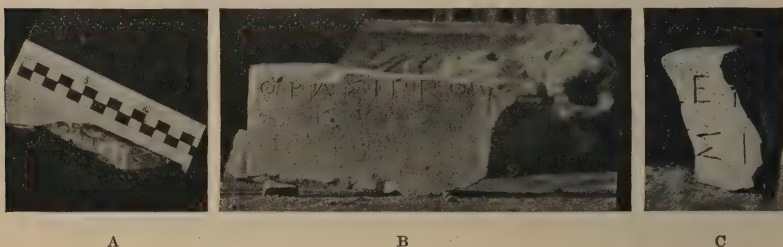


FIGURE 18.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH: Nos. 77, 78, 79.

the letters. Nothing remains to indicate the original height, width, or thickness of the stone. The letters of the inscription have the same height as those of Nos. 76 and 77, but they are cut by an even more expert hand and compare favorably with the finest Attic work. There is just enough difference in this respect to prevent our associating this stone with the two preceding as fragments of one pedestal. Other considerations also stand in the way. Unlike No. 76, this stone has a smooth, not a worked contact face at the left. Nor can this come from the block which adjoined No. 76 at the left (unless No. 76, though it formed the second line, was not begun at the left edge), for this line stands 0.023 m. below the top of the stone, while the letters of No. 76 are 0.05 m. below. We are forced, therefore, to treat this independently of the two preceding.

The inscription contains but the one word *Θρασίππου*. The genitive may be explained in different ways. It is not the father's name, since it is the first word; there was no block adjoining at the left and it is altogether improbable that we are to assume the existence of a stone above containing the opening of the inscription. Nor is it the beginning of a metrical inscription, unless this was in rare iambic form. The name cannot properly begin a hexameter. But it may be the name of the person whose statue stood on this pedestal,—a possessive form usually employed in more imposing monuments than this,—or it may be the dedicatory's name as in the votive inscription, Ditt. *Syll.*² 130

(Panticapaeum), Φαινίππου ἀ[γάθημα ὑπὲρ τοῦ] ἀδελφοῦ κτλ. Of these two possibilities the first may be regarded as more likely. The pedestal would then have contained but one line giving in the genitive, instead of in the more common nominative, the name of the person honored. It thus resembles No. 74.

79 (Inv. 433. Fig. 18, c). Fragment of blue limestone. H. 0.088 m., W. 0.05 m., Th. 0.085 m. Found in 1907 in the filling of No. 15 of the Northwest Shops. The letters of the inscription in form and arrangement (*stoichedon*) belong to the fourth century B.C. H. of letters: line 1, 0.016 m., line 2, 0.02 m.

KALLISTHENES BY EUSTHENES

80 (Inv. 337. Fig. 19). A *poros* block found in 1903 in the foundations of a terrace wall, built during the Roman restoration of Corinth, between the Pro-



FIGURE 19.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 80.

pylaea and the Northwest Stoa. H. 0.347 m., W. 0.917 m., Th. 0.756 m. A worked contact face at the right indicates, as the inscription itself does, that this is but one of two stones that originally composed the front of a pedestal.

The inscription begins exactly half-way between the ends of the block, and we may assume that the first line ended in approximately the same position on the second block. The second line is set symmetrically under the first. It apparently contained some twelve letters less. H. of letters 0.025–0.3 m. Date: late fourth century B.C.

Καλλισθένης Ἀ[.]
Εὐσθένης[ς ἐπόησε.]

Line 1. Kallisthenes is otherwise unknown. The A following presumably began his father's name. The spacing between the words is seen also on the Lysippus pedestals at Corinth (*A.J.A.* VII, 1903, pp. 29–30, Nos. 4, 5. Cf. also No. 81, a). This feature

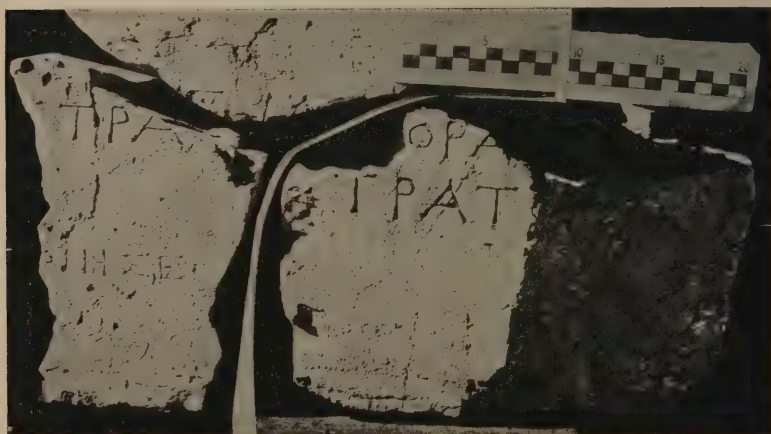
is more to be expected at Corinth, as at other places, in inscriptions of the Roman age; *e.g.* Nos. 25, 88.

Line 2. On the assumption of absolute symmetry, possibly unfounded, I have restored ἐπόησε instead of the equally available ἐποίησε. With the last letter of Eusthenes's name the six letters of ἐπόησε balance the seven letters of his name on the present block better than ἐποίησε would. The same consideration is an objection to the restoration ἀνέθηκε although the similarity between the names might mean that Eusthenes, as a relative, dedicated the monument. At the same time so common an ending as -σθενης need not force us to throw away the more natural restoration ἐπόησε. Eusthenes comes before us, therefore, as a new name in the realm of Greek sculpture.

A SCULPTOR

81. Two fragments of dark blue limestone (Fig. 20, A): *a* (Inv. 286), exact place of finding unknown but probably in the neighborhood of *b*; H. 0.065 m., W. 0.27 m., Th. 0.18 m.; broken on all sides except top and front; *b* (Inv. 237), found in 1902 in the Roman filling near the south end of the Basilica; H. 0.217 m., W. 0.16 m., Th. 0.15 m.; broken on all sides except bottom and front.

The photograph makes no pretense at giving the former relative positions of the two fragments. It brings them close together to show how exactly alike they are in grain and in finish on the surface. The letters also are of the same size and style. On



A B
FIGURE 20.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH: NOS. 81, 83.

the basis of these likenesses I have called them fragments of one inscription.

a. The first letter may be E or Ξ. The second is M. The spacing (if the other fragment may be used for comparison) suggests that they are respectively final and initial letters.

b. H. of letters, in upper line, 0.021 m., in lower line, 0.014 m., excepting the much smaller O.

— — — σ]τρα[— —
— — ἐπ]οίησε.

The form of the letters dates the inscription in the late fourth or early third century B.C.

KAPHISOTELES BY ARISTON

82 (Inv. 245. Fig. 21). Pedestal of white marble, broken off behind at the left and on top at the right. H. 0.149 m., W. 0.637 m., Th. 0.517 m. Found

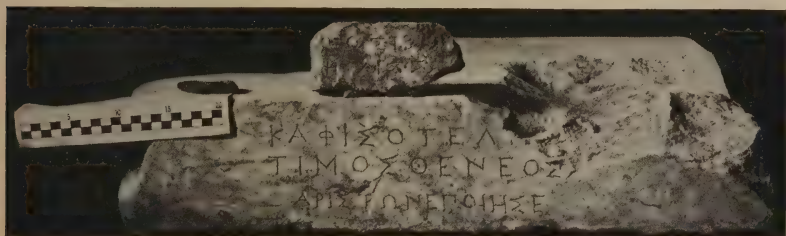


FIGURE 21.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: NO. 82.

in 1902 in the easternmost of the Northwest Shops. Height of letters: lines 1–2, 0.015–0.021 m.; line 3, 0.013–0.015 m. The characters belong to the period (near the end of the third century B.C. presumably), when finials were beginning to be consciously attached, vertical upright strokes used in M, and a flattened ellipse in φ. At the same time κ and Ξ show forms reminiscent of the writing in the fourth century B.C. The top is cut for the fastenings of the feet of a bronze statue (Fig. 22).

The inscription informs us that this statue represented a certain Καφισοτέλης, son of Τιμοσθένης, and was the work of an otherwise unknown sculptor, Ἀρίστων.

Καφισοτέλης[ς]

Τιμοσθένης.

Ἀρίστων ἐποίησε.



FIGURE 22.—TOP OF NO. 82.

The only survivals of the local dialect are found in the $\bar{\alpha}$ of the first name and the uncontracted genitive ending $-\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ of the second.

A Chian sculptor named Ariston worked in Rhodes in the Hellenistic period,¹ but we have no means of identifying the Corinthian sculptor with him. It can only be said that the signature of Lysippus (Nos. 4 and 5) suggests that in Corinth omission of the ethnic is no evidence of local origin. Still, the fame of a Lysippus might permit him to sign in a form denied to Ariston of Chios.

The pose of Ariston's bronze can be determined roughly from the cuttings in the pedestal. It seems to have been one of poise on both feet, the right leg bearing more of the weight, the left set at the side and slightly forward.

ANAXAGORAS (?) SON OF POLYSTRATOS (?)

83 (Inv. 204. Fig. 20, B). Fragment of a pedestal of dark blue limestone found in 1902 in the same place as No. 81: the lower part of the Roman filling of the court between the Basilica and the Agora. H. 0.22 m., W. 0.30 m., Th. 0.255 m. This is its original height. Portions of both top and bottom are preserved. On all other sides we possess only fractured surfaces. At the bottom is seen the difference in weathering due to the setting of this block into a lower one. The few letters preserved are 0.025 m. high (Ω =0.015 m.). They are a good example of the transition from wedge-cuttings to apices. The latter are seen at the bottom of P in the first line.

Using the contemporary stone No. 82 as an example we may restore as two names, *e.g.*

Ἀναξαγ[ό]ρα[s]
Πολυ[σ]τράτ[ο]υ[v]

A SCULPTOR

84 (Inv. 221. Fig. 31, A). Small fragment of dark blue limestone, found in 1902 in the lower part of the Roman filling of the court between the Basilica and the Agora. The lettering is poorly done. Height of letters, upper, 0.024 m., lower, 0.008 m.

— — Ι Σ — —
— —]ς ἐπο[ί]ησε.]

¹ *Acad. Royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark. Bull. de l'année 1907*, p. 23.

C. IULIUS SPARTIATICUS

85 (Inv. 178. Fig. 23). Pedestal of yellowish (Acro-Corinth) limestone, found in 1902 in a late wall in the southern part of the Basilica. The top is finished to receive an upper stone. The back and the bottom are entirely broken away. We have only the original width, 0.445 m. The other dimensions at present are: H. 0.267 m., Th. 0.35 m. H. of letters: line 1, 0.045 m.; line 2, 0.037 m.; line 3, 0.038 m.

Γαλον 'Ιούλιον
Σπαρτιατικόγ·
]θοκλῆς
— ο ν — — —
[ἀνέθηκε]
or
[ἀνέστησε]

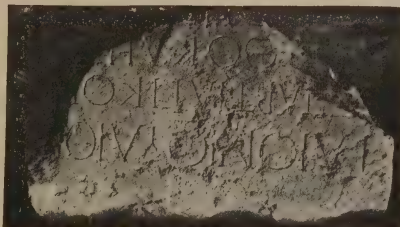


FIGURE 23.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH:
No. 85.

Line 1. The stonecutter has crowded the final letters and made his last O elliptical. The upper angle of the final N is preserved.

Line 2. The word is indented and set symmetrically under the first line. Of the final N once more only the upper angle is preserved.

Line 3. The restoration most obvious is [Ἀγα]θοκλῆς. The objection to it is the dubious one of symmetry. Arguing from the preceding line we infer that this word is centred. It ends apparently just short of the last letter in the preceding line. It ought to begin similarly under the second letter, Π. The restoration of three letters, as proposed, demands more space than this allows. Hence, on this ground, the rarer Πυθοκλῆς might be preferred. Against Πυθοκλῆς may be raised the objection that its spreading Y would have left a trace on the stone before Θ. So also the P of Ὀρθοκλῆς ought to project its curving line into this same space. With these objections before me I refrain from proposing any of these three names. Perhaps another can be found which will satisfy all the conditions. The temptation to restore Ἀγαθοκλῆς, despite the violated symmetry, is made more alluring by the fact that we know of an Athenian Διονύσιος Ἀγαθοκλέους in 150 B.C. (Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. No. 36.) See following note.

Line 4. Only N under O seems certain. Before this may be read an Ω or O. Beyond I have seen at times !O, at other times

only Y. The name Διονυσίου comes to mind and would fit the space.

The second person is presumably the dedicator of the statue of Spartiaticus.

A Corinthian statue of C. Iulius Spartiaticus adds one more testimonial to the well-established reputation of this Laconian in the province of Achaea in the days of the Emperor Tiberius. Other statues stood in Athens (*I.G.* III, 805) and in Epidaurus (*I.G.* IV, 1469). From the Epidaurian pedestal we learn his father's name; from the Athenian the high priestly offices that he held. Musonius refers to him (*ap.* Stobaeus, *Floril.* XL, 9, p. 750, 16 Heuse) as a man of immense wealth. He lost his wealth when he was banished, not later than the time of Nero.

His father, C. Iulius Lacon, and his uncle, C. Iulius Deximachus, were also prominent in their day. But the most distinguished member of the family was the grandfather, C. Iulius Eurycles. In the early days of the reign of Augustus he was the most influential man in Greece and endeared himself to the people of Corinth in particular by building for them magnificent marble baths. These probably stood in the neighborhood of the spot where his grandson's pedestal has been discovered.¹ The family name C. Iulius was adopted by Eurycles when he obtained Roman citizenship.

HERAKLES

86 (Inv. 240. Fig. 24, A). Fragment of a cylindrical pedestal of *poros*, ornamented with mouldings and once covered with a white, limy stucco. H. 0.305 m., W. 0.28 m., Th. 0.245 m. Broken on all sides. Original faces preserved only in front and at top. Original diameter (estimated) 1.14 m. Found in 1902 east of the Early Roman terrace wall east of the Northwest Shops.

The inscription, cut deeply through the stuccoed surface into the *poros*, stands on the broad, flat central moulding. The letters have a height of 0.036–0.042 m.; the variation in measurements being due in part to the weathering and widening of the channels. Their heavy finials, the limy stucco, and the elaborate mouldings are our only clue to the date. It may be of the first century A.D.

Ἡρακλῆ[ς]

At Corinth statues of Herakles were erected as early as the days of "Daedalus" according to Pausanias, II, 4, 5.

¹ Paus. II, 3, 5. See also Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* Eurycles; *B.S.A.* XII, 1905–06, p. 468, No. 23; Weil, *Ath. Mitt.* VI, 1881, pp. 10 ff.; Paton, *Trans. Amer. Philol. Assoc.* XXVI, 1895, pp. 30 ff.

87 (Inv. 170. Fig. 24, B). The left end of a *poros* building-block. H. 0.282 m., W. 0.225 m., Th. 0.136 m. There is no record of its discovery. Broken at bottom and right. A portion of the original top is preserved. At the left is a



FIGURE 24.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH: NOS. 86, 87.

contact face. On the front are traces of a thin stucco. The single letter E is of monumental size, being 0.093 m. in height. The break at the right follows the curve of a second letter which is probably Θ; [ἀν]έθ[ηκε] may be conjectured. It is clearly from the dedication of some Corinthian building.

AN ATHENIAN SCULPTOR

88 (Inv. 251. Fig. 25, A). Broken slab of white marble, probably the veneer of a pedestal of cheap local stone. Found in 1902 near the centre of the orchestra of the partially excavated theatre. H. 0.313 m., W. 0.25 m., Th. 0.05 m. Broken on all sides, leaving only at the bottom a small piece of the original edge. A narrow dowel-hole (0.04 m. high) is found at the bottom of the present left side.

dedica] V I [T]
[.]s 'Αθηναῖος ἐποίησεν

The inscription is bi-lingual. The only Greek possibility for the upper line is M. But if we tried to restore one letter, the proportions would be monstrous. We must have two letters of Latin, V and one of the letters beginning with an upright. I have suggested I and then T.

The surviving portion of the Greek sculptor's signature, inscribed in letters 0.017 m. high between ruled lines, tells us that he was an Athenian, of perhaps the first century A.D.

CN. CORNELIUS PULCHER

89 (Inv. 358 and 262). Two contiguous fragments of the upper part of a pedestal identical in all respects with No. 24 (*A.J.A.* VII, 1903, p. 49). Fragment *a*, found in 1903 in front of shops 12 and 13 on the Lechaëum Road,

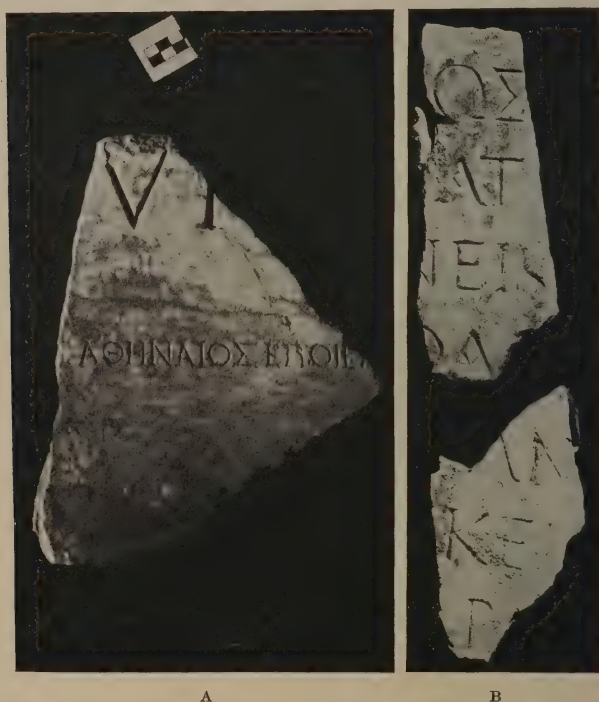


FIGURE 25.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH: NOS. 88, 91.

measures H. 0.255 m., W. 0.363 m., Th. 0.14 m.; fragment *b*, found in 1902 in shop 15 about one metre above the level of the floor, measures H. 0.14 m., W. 0.30 m., Th. 0.073 m. The splitting of the stone into its present halves must have been facilitated by a Roman clamp-cutting which has obliterated the central letters.

The full text of the inscription and a commentary have been given in Powell's article already cited. The two lines contained in our fragments read as follows:

Γ[γ]. Κορινθίου Τιβ. Κορινθίου Πού[λχρου υ]ιόν Φαβία(ι) Ποῦλχρον
στρ[ατηγόν]
τῆς πόλεως Κορινθίων πενταετηρικόν ἀ[γωνοθέτ]ην Καισαρείων Ἰσθμ[ίων,
ἀρχιερέα—]

The discovery of this stone gives us now a pair of larger pedestals corresponding to the smaller pair published by Powell as Nos. 25 and 26. Pulcher's honors apparently never came singly.¹

HADRIAN (?)

90 *a* and *b* (Inv. 429 and 440. Fig. 26). Two broken slabs of white marble, the former (*a*) found in the fill of No. 14 of the Northwest Shops, the latter (*b*) found just above the late Roman pavement, south of shop 13. Although there is no point of contact between them, the fact that they belong to the same pedestal may be safely conjectured from their proportions and the quality of the marble as well as from the size of the letters and the style of the engraving. Both diminish in thickness from the bottom to the top. Their dimensions are as follows: (*a*) H. 0.265 m., W. 0.240 m., Th. 0.055 m.; (*b*) H. 0.280 m., W. 0.250 m., Th. 0.075 m. The letters vary in size from line to line: (*a*) L. 1, 0.052 m., L. 2, 0.045 m., L. 3, 0.04 m.; (*b*) L. 1, 0.035 m., L. 2, 0.035 m., L. 3, 0.027–8 m., L. 4, the letters are larger again, ca. 0.04 m., as in line three of fragment *a*. On both fragments the ruled alignment lines are clearly seen.

The following restoration probably gives the approximate wording of the original. It cannot pretend to be more exact than that. The formulae used in dedications of statues of Hadrian, despite their general uniformity, are too varied, and there are too many uncertainties connected with these fragments themselves (*e.g.* lengths of lines, and size of letters in the omitted line or lines) to admit of certain restoration. For comparison, how-

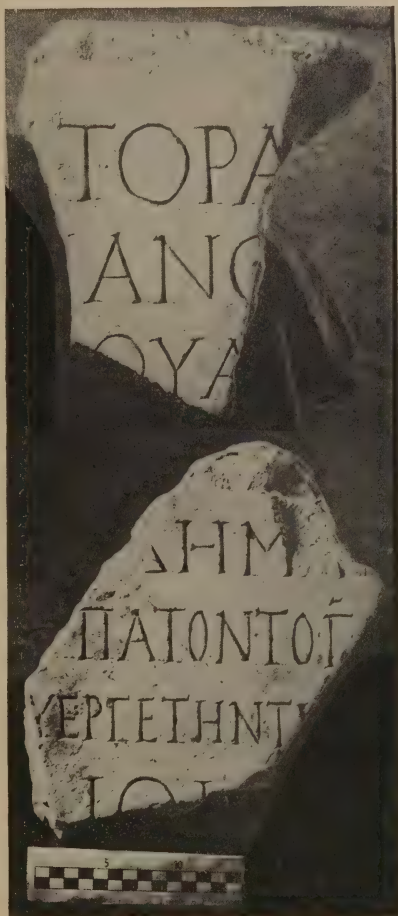


FIGURE 26.—INSCRIPTION FROM CORINTH: No. 90.

¹ Cf. also *I.G.* 1V, 795 (Troezen).

ever, see especially *I.G.* IV, 1406 (Epidaurus) and *I.G.* XII, 5, 674 (Syros).

- a* [Αὐτοκρ]άτορα [Καίσαρα,]
 [θεοῦ Τρα]ιανοῦ [Παρθικοῦ]
 [νιόν, θεοῦ Νέρ]ουα [νιωνόν,]
 [Τραιανόν Ἀδριανόν Σεβαστόν,]
b [ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον,] δημαρ[χικῆς]
 [ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰ,] ὑπατον τὸ γ'[τόν]
 [σωτηῆρα καὶ ἐ]νεργέτην τῇς πόλεως,
 [Ἡ Κορι]νθί[ων πόλεις].

In fragment *a* at the left the break has followed the oblique cutting of the A and the vertical cutting of the I in lines 1 and 2 respectively.

In fragment *b*, above the first line ΔΗΜ, can be seen the foot of a vertical shaft and the curve of an O, = NO of ΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΝ (?). After the ΔΗΜ— the lower ends of the oblique strokes of A and the vertical of P are quite plain. At the beginning of the second line the base of the Υ is preserved before —ΠΑΤΟΝ.

[Ἡ Κορι]νθί[ων πόλεις] is a restoration of the last line which suits the few broken letters still showing and just fills out the space. Cf. *I.G.* V, 2, 139 (Tegea).

Hadrian's special benefaction to Corinth was an aqueduct that brought into the city water from the Stymphalian Lake in Arcadia, seventeen miles away. Some traces of this aqueduct have been observed in the western part of the Corinthian plateau.

A statue may well have been erected in honor of Hadrian soon after his visit to the city. Following von Rohden in Pauly-Wissowa, *s.v.* 'Aelius, No. 64', I have considered the date of this visit to be 126 A.D. and have restored the year of his *tribunicia potestas* accordingly, *i.e.* δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας τὸ ἰ. The stone might have established the date beyond question if only two more letters had been preserved at the left of the second line in fragment *b*.

91. Two fragments of white marble veneer (Fig. 25, B): *a* (Inv. 355), found May 22, 1903, in a trench dug to determine the dimensions of the theatre; *b* (Inv. 362), found in the same place two weeks later. Their dimensions are *a*, H. 0.267 m., W. 0.107 m., Th. 0.016 m.; *b*, H. 0.212 m., W. 0.12 m., Th. 0.016 m. Proof of their belonging together is abundant. Both fragments have the same thickness, the same smoothly polished backs, and the same kind of corrosion on the front face. The letters, also, are just alike in form and size.

Height, in *a*, line 1, 0.04 m., lines 2-4, about 0.037 m.; in *b*, 0.037-0.039 m. The photograph indicates the probable relation between the two fragments so far as it can be worked out from the grain of the marble and the lines of breakage. As they have no points of contact, they cannot be brought any nearer together.

a

.

— — $\omega\varsigma$ — —

— — $\alpha\tau$ — —

— — $\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa$ —

5 \omicron or $\theta\alpha\gamma$ or μ

b

— — $\alpha\nu$ — —

— — $\kappa\epsilon\iota$ — —

— — $\alpha\rho$ [α (?) —

For future reference it may be worth while to record the other traces of letters that appear less clearly in the photograph.

Line 1. On the edge of the stone above $\omega\varsigma$ can be seen the horizontal of a Δ or a Σ , then the finial of a vertical hasta, probably I, and the left-hand finial of an A or a Λ .

Line 3. On the left edge a vertical hasta; on the right edge a vertical hasta with a slight inclination to the right.

Line 5. At the tip of fragment *b* is the base of a vertical hasta which might belong to a M in this line or to a letter following N.

Line 7. At the left of KEI is the tip of a high horizontal hasta suggesting Γ , E, or Σ . At the right the curving break outlines Θ , O, or Ω .

Line 8. After P read A or Λ .

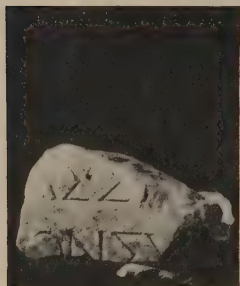
92 (Inv. 441. Fig. 27 A). Fragment of a marble slab found in 1907 a few inches above the late Roman pavement in the northwest portion of the Agora. Broken on all sides. Back roughly tooled. H. 0.11 m., W. 0.19 m., Th. 0.058 m. The letters are about 0.039 m. high, and at the top of the upper line are worn away as if they had been much walked on.

— — $\alpha\varsigma \cdot \sigma$ — —

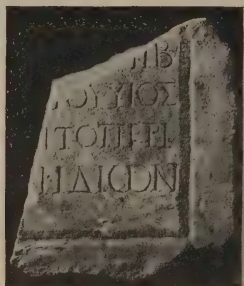
— — $\omicron\nu \sigma\nu$ — —

The first letter is certainly A. Between the two sigmas there is a punctuation mark. Beyond the second Σ is the vertical hasta of a letter which cannot be read. In the second line the second oblique stroke of the Y is on the edge of the break.

93 (Inv. 350. Fig. 28, A). Small rectangular pedestal of white marble, raised on low square feet at the corners. All surfaces original excepting at right where the entire end has been broken off.



A



B

FIGURE 27.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH:
Nos. 92, 94.

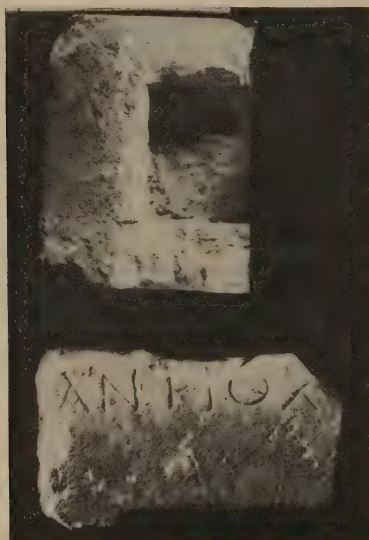
Present dimensions: H. 0.1035 m. (including feet), 0.0925 m. (excluding feet), W. 0.173 m., Th. 0.19 m. Original width (estimated) 0.241 m. In the top a square cutting (one side 0.095 m.) 0.04 m. deep, contains a dowel hole at the back cut 0.017 m. deeper still. This block was found in 1903 between the West Shops and the Church of St. John.

The inscription is cut in disproportionately large letters: H. 0.023–0.025 m.

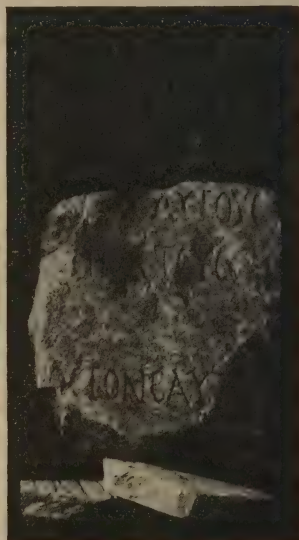
ΑΥΤΙΟΧ[. .]

A BENEFACTOR

94 (Inv. 353. Fig. 27, B). Fragment from the lower right-hand corner of a marble slab the greatest thickness of which is at the centre, diminishing almost



A



B

FIGURE 28.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH: Nos. 93, 95.

to a sharp edge at top and bottom. This fact undoubtedly means that originally the slab was only a little higher than at present. Its dimensions now are, H. 0.246 m., W. 0.215 m., Th. 0.07 m. It was found in 1903 in the theatre area. It is broken on all sides except the right, although at the bottom only the moulding has been lost. This moulding is simple at the side and double at the bottom. At the right it is 0.045 m. wide. It does not actually project from the plane of the inscribed surface except in the raised part of the bottom band. The effect of relief is given by bevelling the inscribed surface close to the moulding. Cf. No. 66.

The letters, cut in the Roman style, are of two sizes. In lines 1 and 4 they are 0.025 m. high; in the intermediate lines 0.022 m. The cursive influence appears in the single letter ω . The other letters are all late square capitals elaborated with finials formed on Roman models. Dots are used for punctuation in lines 2 and 4.

. [T] ι β .
 [ι]ου νῖός,
 ιτο περὶ
 . . . ἐκ τῶ]ν ιδίων
 . . . ἀνέθηκε]ν.

The fragment evidently belongs to that large class of Graeco-Roman tablets which record the public liberality of the private citizens. Compare *I.G.* III, 1, 68, 71, 398; IV, 442. Possibly it gave the name of the restorer of the theatre.

The treatment of the back suggests that it was fastened, not to a brick or marble wall but to some kind of soft stone,—undoubtedly the *poros* over which at Corinth the marble veneer was so often placed.

ANOTHER BENEFACTOR

95 (Inv. 321. Fig. 28, B). A fragment of white marble, the finding-place of which is unrecorded. The right edge is original. The inscribed face is spotted as if burnt. H. 0.23 m., W. 0.194 m., Th. 0.08 m. H. of letters, 0.023 m.

[.]εἰς αὐτοὺς
 [.]εἰτ' ἀστούς.
 [.]ος τὸν εἰαυτ[ῶν]
 [εὐεργέτην(?)]

Line 1. Before ϵ there is apparently a vertical hasta with finial at bottom. E cept for this I should be tempted to restore ἀρετῆς ἔνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς εἰαυτοὺς — — εἴτε ξένους εἴτ' ἀστούς.

Line 2. Before ἀστούς can be seen a combination of strokes which may be read either as a poorly made II or more probably as an I and T run together. Preceding this the wearing of the

stone indicates a probable € or C. Possibly the word-division given in the transliteration is wrong and *-ειτας* or *-σιτας* *τοὺς* is to be read.

Line 3. A possible restoration would be *[ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος τὸν ἑαυτῶν εὐεργέτην]*.

96 (Inv. 314. Fig. 29, A). A fragment of white marble found in the early excavations on the site of Corinth, but there is no record of the exact spot or date. Part of the original right edge is preserved. It is broken on all other sides. H. 0.027 m., W. 0.22 m., Th. 0.073 m. The letters have a height of 0.035–0.038 m., excepting the tall capital B, which is 0.044 m. high. Red coloring matter is found in all the letters.

[— — — — —] *μενην*
[τῆς τῶν Κορινθίων Βουλῆς
 — — — — —] *ς ὁ υἱὸς*
 — — — — — [*αι* or *ν*].

The punctuation marks are of two kinds, perhaps intended merely as variants of one type. This type is not common according to Larfeld, I, p. 230. It is to be noticed that no mark appears before *βουλῆς* or *υἱὸς*.

LUCIUS

97 (Inv. 388. Fig. 29, B). A broken slab of marble veneer found in 1905 at the fountain of Peirene. H. 0.31 m., W. 0.23 m., Th. (at top) 0.03–0.034 m.; (at bottom) 0.023–0.027 m. The greatest thickness is at the right. The letters decrease in height line by line: 1, 0.065 m. (the initial Λ is 0.076 m.); 2, 0.055–0.057 m.; 3, 0.051 m.; 4 cannot be measured but the letters are still smaller. A

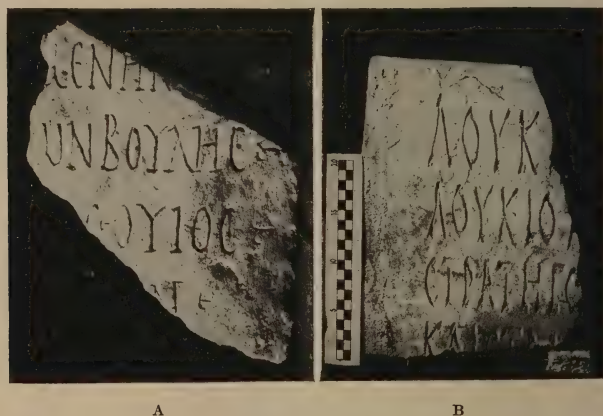


FIGURE 29.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH: NOS. 96, 97.

peculiar feature of the lettering is the thickening of some finials and of all horizontal strokes. Notice particularly Γ, the seventh letter in line 3.

Λούκι[ον]
 Λουκίου [υἱὸν ἀντι]-
 στρατηγὸ[ν]
 καὶ στρατ[ηγὸν]

Line 1. The break follows the vertical shaft of the I.

Line 2. No part of the upper oblique stroke of the Y appears on the broken edge; but the break follows its line.

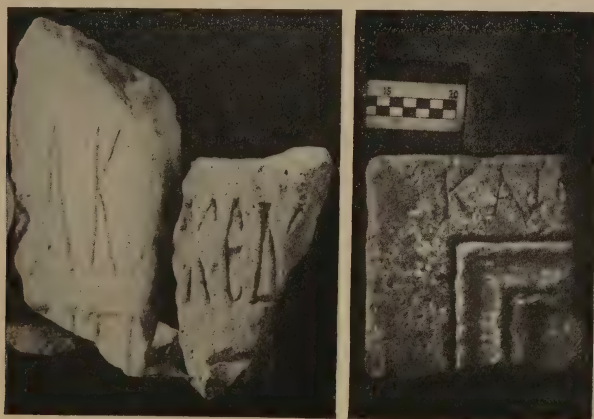
Line 3. The outer curve of the O can be seen on the broken edge.

Line 4. The last two letters, A and T, have left slight but unmistakable traces. The former is known by the two oblique lines which do not quite meet at the apex; the latter by the thick tip of its high horizontal stroke which, though not visible in the photograph, can be made out on the stone itself.

PORTICO OF THE FULLERS (?)

98 *a* and *b* (Fig. 30, A). Two fragments of marble veneer which are shown to belong to the same inscription by their similarity in thickness, color and grain of the marble, and shape and size of the letters. They have no point of contact.

a (Inv. 264), the left-hand of the two pieces in the photograph, was found in 1902 in the Northwest Stoa. It is broken on all sides. H. 0.234 m., W. 0.11



A

B

FIGURE 30.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH: NOS. 98, 102.

m., Th. 0.042–0.045 m. The greatest thickness is at the left. The letters preserved are in two lines. The upper appears to have been the first line of the inscription. Above it the fragment is preserved for 0.07 m. and no letters are to be seen. The size of the letters in this line confirms this view. They are 0.098 m., or nearly four inches high.

b (Inv. 339). The place of finding is not recorded. H. 0.17 m., W. 0.102 m., Th. 0.039–0.047 m., with the greatest thickness at the left. While at first glance the marble appears bluer than that of *a*, the bluer tone can be seen in the lower part of *a*. The letters are of exactly the same style but are smaller. Their height is 0.065–0.07 m. This would mean that fragment *b* belonged to one of the lower lines of the inscription.

a
[ΣΤ]ΟΑ ΚΝ [ΑΦΕΩΝ]
[σ or ε] ι τ[ρ]
b
[.] κ ε δ [ε(?)]
[α]τ

a. The letter before A in the first line is O or Θ; after K the oblique stroke that would make an N is seen starting from the vertical. Ultimately more evidence may accumulate to change the name of the Northwest Shops to that of The Fullers' Portico. We are perhaps not warranted in doing so on the basis of this restoration.

The letters of the second line are cut in much wider channels. Only I and T are sure readings; preceding them is possibly a C or an Ε; after them is B or P. Considerable red coloring matter is still left in the grooves.

b. On the upper edge of the stone appear the finials of the letters in the line above, now lost. In our first line Ε seems more probable than O after Δ. Of the next line a probable T and a possible A or Λ preceding it may be read.

IV

SEPULCHRAL INSCRIPTIONS

SOSIBIA OF HERAEA

99 (Inv. 400. Fig. 31, B). A fragment from the top of a small white marble stele broken at the right. Found in 1907 in the first torrent-bed west of Hagia Paraskevi, some metres south of the ancient quarry, and presumably from some ancient cemetery outside the walls of the city towards Sicyon. H. 0.073 m., W. 0.153 m., Th. 0.049 m. The photograph¹ shows the tops of some of the

¹ This fragment also appears on top of No. 82 (Fig. 21).

letters in the third line but nothing can be made of them. The preserved letters are not uniform, Σ, for example, is not cut twice the same way. Their height is 0.01–0.012 m. The type of the Σ and the finials suggest a date near the opening of the second century B.C.

Σωσιβί [as]

Ἡραϊσσας

.....

Ἡραϊσσας I take to be the genitive of the late feminine adjective form for Ἡραῖς, corresponding to the masculine Ἡραεύς, for Ἡραιεύς, and indicating So-sibia to be a ξένη, from one of the several towns bearing the name Heraea. Compare No. 7 = I.G. IV, 397, [M]εναλκίδος|[Φ]λεισίας, a grave-stone of about the same date.

“TO MOTHER”

100 (Inv. 171. Fig. 31, c). Fragment of the top of a white marble grave-stone found in 1902 east of the “scarped” rock, southwest of the museum, and north of the Basilica. H. 0.082 m., W. 0.138 m., Th. 0.10 m. The neat, if somewhat irregular, letters have finials. This fact, with the shape of the M and the Φ in particular, suggests the middle of the second century B.C. as the date of the inscription. Cf. the letters of No. 65. H. of letters, 0.013 m. (P 0.015 m., Φ over 0.025 m.).

μ]ητρὶ ταλαίν[αι
.]μων μορφὰν . . .

“FAREWELL”

101 (Inv. 381. Fig. 32, A). A fragment of the base of a sepulchral monument, found in 1904, probably south of St. John's Church. It is broken on all sides but preserves its original height and right front edge. H. 0.105 m., W. 0.305 m., Th. 0.247 m. On the left broken edge is preserved the segment of a



FIGURE 31.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH:
Nos. 84, 99, 100.

former circular depression in the top, 0.05 m. deep and having a (calculated) diameter of *ca.* 0.124 m. Between this depression and the right front corner the top of the stone has a circular roughening of the surface, *ca.* 0.11 m. in diameter, which may also have to do

with the object that once rested on our stone. The letters, 0.05 m. high, are cut in an elegant Roman style of the first or second century A.D. between ruled alignment lines.

[X]αἶρε.

It may be conjectured, on the assumption that the depression was in the centre of the block, that on this stone the word *Xαἶρε* stood alone. The proper name would then have been placed on some other stone in the memorial.

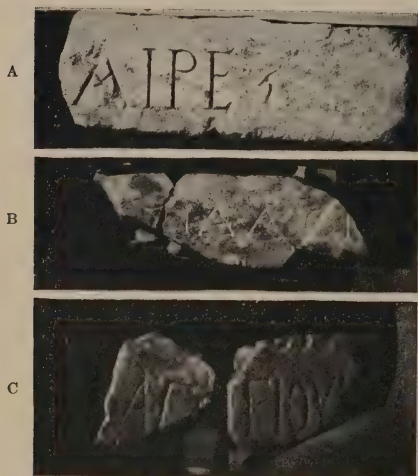


FIGURE 32.—INSCRIPTIONS FROM CORINTH:
Nos. 101, 11, 28–29.

102 (Inv. 335. Fig. 30, B).

The upper left-hand corner of a marble slab framed by mouldings which suggest a portrait relief. The same mouldings are also roughly suggested on the back. H. 0.18 m., W. 0.177 m., Th. 0.064 m. The letters are cut on the flat outer moulding. H. of letters 0.035 m. The place where the stone was found is not recorded.

Kα[?]

The fourth letter is doubtful. O or C seems the most likely, but € or θ will have to be restored if the horizontal stroke at the centre of the curve is a genuine ancient cutting. This is possible; but to me the stroke does not appear to be as deep as the others and seems, therefore, accidental.

NOTES ON THE INSCRIPTIONS PUBLISHED BY POWELL IN *A.J.A.* VII, 1903, PP. 26–71.

3. This archaic inscription actually has an upsilon with straight, not curving, sides and a curving not an angular, sigma.

4. The sigmas are not of a date contemporary with Lysippus (cf. No. 5), nor is the indistinctness of the letters due to the condition of the stone so much as to the lightness of the cutting. The inscription belongs to the late third century B.C.

8. See page 346.

11. A new fragment (Inv. 304, Fig. 32, B) has been found which fits to the older piece at the left and gives us two more letters, Υ and Σ .

$\Lambda(?)\nu\sigma\iota\delta\alpha\ \Theta[\eta\text{ or } \rho \dots]$

12. See page 353.

16. See page 347.

28 and 29 appear to be fragments of the same inscription. Powell describes 28 as being of "hard limestone" and 29 as of blue limestone. They are both of blue limestone, and their letters have the same size and shapes. In 28 above the $\cdot\Gamma\cdot\text{IOY}\Lambda-$, as can be seen in the accompanying photograph (Fig. 32, c), are found traces of another line of letters, ω and Λ or A apparently; so the fragment cannot be "broken from the corner of a block." No. 29 is more probably from the top line. The surface above the letters recedes as if to make the neck of a bust or herm. Such a form is not likely in this material, but the receding surface indicates that here no letters are to be found. In this same fragment (29) under the Λ can be seen the top of a letter not noticed by Powell.

31. Many of the letters of the erased inscription are legible, proving that it was Latin.

55. The letters belong to the classical period, not to the late date suggested by its place in the series.

57 and 58 are fragments of the same inscription.

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TWO CAROLINGIAN IVORIES

AMONG the Pre-Gothic ivories in the Pierpont Morgan Collection, presented to the Metropolitan Museum in 1917, are two fine Carolingian plaques of the ninth century, which originally ornamented the covers of a book. As far as I have been able to ascertain, the ivories have never been published.

That the plaques, when they were carved in the ninth century, were designed for book-covers is certain. On the backs of the ivories are carvings several centuries earlier in date. These will be noticed later in more detail, but the fact is mentioned now as indicating that the plaques, when re-used in the Carolingian period, were intended from the first to be applied, as otherwise, the older carvings, which are incomplete in design, would undoubtedly have been erased.

The measurements of the Morgan plaques vary slightly. On the smaller of the two,¹ measuring 5 inches in height by $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches in width, Our Lord is represented seated on a throne, behind which stand St. Peter and St. Paul (Fig. 1). This scene is framed by a border of acanthus ornament. The Virgin holding the Christ Child is represented on the companion plaque,² which measures $5\frac{5}{8}$ inches in height by $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches in width (Fig. 2). Two angels, standing behind the throne, correspond to the Apostles on the other plaque. The acanthus ornament is somewhat different in design.

The plaques are carved in quite low relief, but with considerable plastic effect. An exaggerated impression of flatness is given by the photographs, in which the rubbing suffered by the ivories is more apparent than in the originals. The style in general is pictorial, and shows a dependence on manuscript illumination.

Close analogies in style and composition exist between the Morgan plaques and two ivories mounted on the modern covers of a Gospel³ in the Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Christ

¹ Accession No. 17.190.41

² Accession No. 17.190.39

³ Cod. lat. 323 (Exposé 265).

Enthroned is represented on one plaque; He gives a book to Paul who stands on His right, and keys to Peter, who stands on His left. Between the Apostles is a symbolic figure of Oceanus. Two angels complete the upper part of the composition. Except for the position of the hands, the Christ is very similar to that of the Morgan plaque, especially in the arrangement of the drapery. The second Paris plaque represents the Virgin Enthroned with the Child; two adoring angels appear above the back of the throne. The Morgan plaque with the same subject differs in



FIGURE 1.—CHRIST ENTHRONED; CAROLINGIAN IVORY PLAQUE: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

the pose of the angels, which are here shown only as busts, and in the form of the throne, but the Virgin and Child are practically identical in pose and costume with the Paris example. The



FIGURE 2.—THE VIRGIN AND CHILD ENTHRONED; CAROLINGIAN IVORY PLAQUE: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

similarity in technique is obvious. I have no doubt that both the Paris and the Morgan plaques came from the same atelier, if not from the same hand.

Goldschmidt, in his valuable work on Carolingian ivories,¹

¹ A. Goldschmidt, *Die Elfenbeinskulpturen, etc.* Vol. I, No. 71, a, b, Plate XXVIII.

publishes the Paris plaques and describes them as "Mitte des IX Jahrhunderts. Abzweigung der Liuthardgruppe," associating with them two similar plaques of the same date in the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹ These ivories, Goldschmidt points out, are related in style to both the "Liuthard" and "Metz" groups. The same observation may be made of the Morgan ivories.

The Paris plaques have much in common, stylistically, with the illuminations in the Gospel, on the covers of which they are now applied. It is quite likely that the manuscript and the ivories have the same provenance; which, presumably, is also the same for the plaques in the Victoria and Albert Museum and in the Pierpont Morgan Collection. The illuminations in the Paris Gospel may be associated with the so-called School of Corbie, but unfortunately, the location of this school is uncertain. The Paris Gospel is assigned by W. Köhler to the middle of the ninth century. This date we may safely adopt for the ivories of the group. As to provenance, however, although the Rhenish provinces may be suggested as the probable place of origin, the problem still awaits solution.

The carving on the back of the Morgan plaque with Christ Enthroned (Fig. 3) is incomplete at the top and bottom; the design on the back of the other plaque (Fig 4) is incomplete at the top only. It is possible that both ivories, when originally carved, formed part of one large panel, but it is more likely, since we find on one plaque a balanced design and on the other an arrangement decidedly informal in character, that parts of two panels were utilized by the Carolingian carver. Both panels, however, are alike in style, and probably ornamented a box or some other piece of furniture.

The carving suggests at once Coptic work of the sixth and seventh centuries, not only in technique but also in the choice of motives. The vine decoration and scenes of men and animals are not uncommon in the wood, bone, and ivory carvings of Coptic Egypt. Exact parallels of the birds on the Morgan plaques may be found, for example, on the ivory No. 7115 in Strzygowski's² Catalogue of the Cairo Museum. This piece is attributed to the fifth or sixth century; it may well be earlier than the Morgan plaques, since the male figure represented on it is

¹ Nos. 253.67 and 254.67. Goldschmidt, *op. cit.* Nos. 69 and 70, Plate XXVIII.

² J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst*, No. 7115.

vastly superior to the crudely blocked-out hunter of the New York ivories. The vine motive is found on a large group of Coptic bone carvings in the Kaiser Friedrich Museum, Berlin,



FIGURE 3.—BACK OF PLAQUE, FIGURE 1; PROBABLY COPTIC, VI-VII CENTURIES.

attributed to the seventh century.¹ Another ivory (Cat. No. 616) in the same Museum, related to this group, shows two birds flanking a date-palm, a composition recalling the design on one of the Morgan plaques.

¹ O. Wulff, *Beschreibung der Bildwerke der Christlichen Epochen. I. Altchristliche Bildwerke*, pp. 144 ff.

It is pointed out in the Catalogue of the Berlin Museum¹ that the palm tree motive and the vine decoration just noted on the Berlin carvings were derived by Coptic Egypt from Syria. The

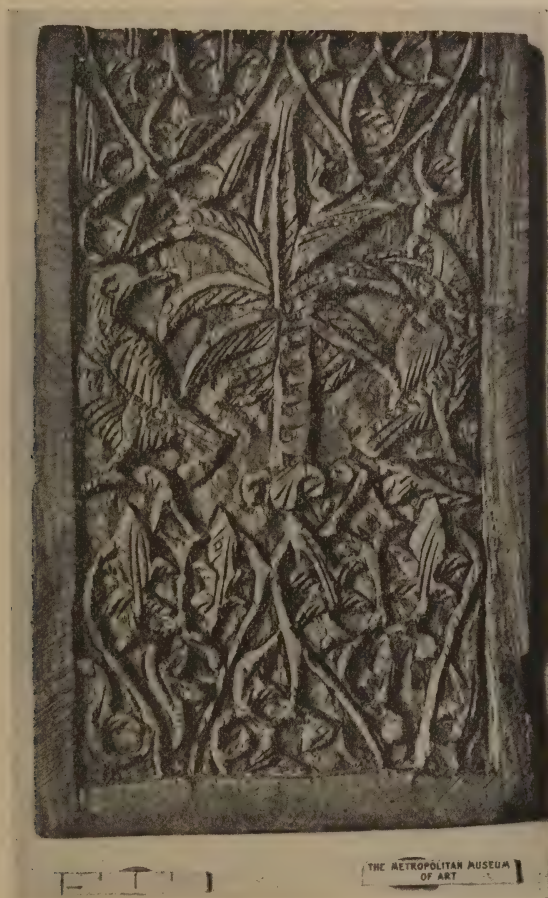


FIGURE 4.—BACK OF PLAQUE, FIGURE 2; PROBABLY COPTIC, VI-VII CENTURIES.

prominence given to these motives in the carving of the Morgan plaques, to say nothing of such unusual features in Coptic art as the fabulous winged animal and the hunter, with a slain animal over his shoulder, who seizes the antlers of a stag, makes one

¹ See also Strzygowski, *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.* 1904, pp. 342 ff.

hesitate to assign the ivories in question to Egypt without referring to the possibility of a Syrian origin. At the same time, I think stylistic evidence warrants us in describing the earlier carving on the Morgan plaques as probably Coptic, under Syrian influence, of the sixth or seventh century.

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THE OBLONG CASKETS OF THE BYZANTINE PERIOD

A GROUP of caskets in bone or ivory, varying in length, width, and height, but of oblong shape, forms a very interesting branch of the work of the carvers of the Byzantine period. The source can be clearly traced, for the Mycenaeans used such caskets, and the Romans followed the Greeks in their make and use, though the circular type (*pyxis*) was more popular than the oblong shape. The Christians in turn adopted and adapted the pagan examples, but they used the *pyxis* for exclusively religious purposes. Examples of this branch of the carver's craft are common to all countries, and were very generally in use during the periods preceding the Renaissance; but by far the most interesting and largest group, made up of fifty or more caskets and as many single panels, came from the hands of Byzantine carvers and their immediate successors.

In construction, a wooden core or *âme*, formed the base upon which the panels were fastened by means of pegs, and the ivory was often stained, painted, or gilded, so that the finished product presented a very sumptuous appearance. The lids were arranged when flat to slide or open upon hinges; or as truncated pyramids, always hinged. Among the known examples covers of the latter shape are somewhat more numerous, but the two styles seem to have been equally popular.

In decoration one feature is almost uniformly present; the panels, whether long and narrow, or almost square, are framed by borders made up of a series of rosettes enclosed in circles, and in the triangular spaces above and below the point of contact of the circles, arrow heads are placed. Monotony is avoided by slight variations in the shape of the rosettes, changes in the depth of the cutting, and, in a few cases, the alternating of medallion-heads with the rosettes. The use of the medallion-heads may be directly due to the influence of the silversmiths, who used them as ornamental borders for platters, etc. The stereotyped character of the principal band has a decided interest, for, unless used by Byzantine carvers or those influenced by them, we do not find it popular in the West. In the East the

rosette designs are persistent, seemingly derived from the lotus pattern of early Egypt. We find rosettes on the ramp at Persepolis, and later the Copts used them enclosed in circles, very like the design so popular with the makers of the caskets. Many Persian vases repeat the motive, and it was not uncommon in other parts of the East. In the West it is rare; the Torcello pluteus and a doorway at Toscanella are the only examples which I can cite at present of its appearance there. With but few exceptions the borderings seem to have been made in long strips without regard to the possibility of fitting the pieces together so as to match. When the rosette-medallion borders were used, there seems generally to have been more care exercised in fitting the border to the given space. In the Veroli casket, and in one of the Morgan panels the heads of some of the panel figures are identical with those of the border. Such instances, however, are rare. In the case of the supplementary borders, we find them generally made to fit, so that one infers that they were provided by the maker of the casket.

The panels in the main are small, almost square, with one or possibly two figures in each; some are oblong with two or more figures, others long and narrow, with the figures forming continuous bands. These last, used sparingly, seem as a rule to have been planned to fit the core, or perhaps the core was made to accommodate them, for in the making, all the parts suggest greater care than is seen in many of those which show the small



FIGURE 1.—THE CRANENBURG CASKET: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

panels. When the truncated pyramid forms the lid, it is not unusual to find trapezoidal panels fitted to the spaces. Human and animal forms are used as subjects, and when both occur on the same casket, the human figures are apt to appear on the lid. The favorite single figure is a warlike one, sometimes mounted, but generally on foot, in an attitude of defense or action. Heracles follows the warrior as a close contestant in popularity, although but few of his deeds are recorded. The long panels show groups of dancers, scenes from the hippodrome, comedies, myths, etc. When sacred subjects are treated, the Byzantine tradition is followed; Adam and Eve work together, fashioning tools or gathering the grain; Abel is shown with stones resting on head and thigh.

It is hard to say whether the careless placing of the metal locks and clamps can also be laid to the general disregard shown by the artisans whose business it was to cover the core with the material at hand, or whether we must conclude that they are later additions placed there for security and strength. The fact remains that very few of the caskets of this class show a definite plan for lock and clamps. In this way they differ from the truly oriental examples, where careful consideration of these spaces is apparent. It may be remarked also that this consideration extends to the use of the borders by the eastern ivory workers.

The date of production is a much discussed and puzzling question. Venturi¹ argues for the fourth or fifth century, but he stands almost, if not quite alone, as the authorities in the main give the range from the ninth to the thirteenth century. The place of origin is another point in question. Darcel² calls the secular caskets Italo-Byzantine, because the best examples were found in Italy, and in his judgment show both Italian and oriental influences. Schneider³ thinks that they come partly from a studio furnished with an old sample-book, and partly from Byzantium. Graeven⁴ admits the sample-book and thinks that the carvers also copied old silver models; he also argues that the inspiration for the scenes is found in the illuminations of manuscripts, and cites the Vienna Genesis, the Joshua Rotulus, the Codex Rossanensis, etc.

¹ Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, I, p. 514.

² Darcel, *La collection Basilewsky* Paris, 1884.

³ Schneider, *Serta Harteliana* p. 279.

⁴ Graeven, *Jb. Preuss. Kunsts.* III, 1897, p. 23.

We have a unique opportunity for further study of the subject in the examples gathered together in the Morgan collection. With the exception of the Hermitage, this is larger and shows more varied styles than any other collection known to me at present. Four of the caskets and six of the panels belong to this Byzantine series, and with their aid it seems possible to make one more step in the direction of an answer to these questions of date and place. Using these examples as a starting-point for classification, we find that they fall into distinct groups; one headed by the Cranenburg casket (Fig. 1) with a sub-division growing out of the introduction of animal figures on the Hoent-



FIGURE 2.—“JOSHUA” PANEL: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

schel casket (Fig. 6); a second group forms under the Pulskey (Figs. 8, 9) and Oppenheim (Fig. 7) panels; and a third is well represented by the small but perfect sacred casket (Fig. 10). As nearly as it is possible to make a definite statement, with only photographs, other reproductions, and descriptions to judge from, with but few exceptions all the known examples follow one or the other of these lines.

Generally speaking, the styles can best be classed by the treatment of the figures. They are either slender, fully modelled, with a good deal of swing, and a definite sense of action; or the forms are full, scantily modelled, quiet, and stiff or unnatural in the attempted portrayal of life and motion. Graeven,¹ in an

¹ *L'Arte*, 1899, pp. 297 ff.

article published twenty years ago, arrived at the conclusion that this was not due to a difference in point of time, but to a definite plan for the purpose of distinguishing the sacred from the secular subjects. I shall consider this point in connection with the study of the Joshua panels of the Morgan collection.

By far the most finished work is found in the group headed by the Cranenburg casket (Fig. 1) which in spite of the small panels,



FIGURE 3.—"JOSHUA" PANEL: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

is closely allied in style with the one from Veroli in the Victoria and Albert Museum.¹ This latter, showing a uniformity of execution and style in both panels and borders quite unique in the history of the whole group, is decidedly the finest example known to us, and it is quite possible that it may have served as the inspiration to the casket makers as long as the demand for them lasted. Similar in figure treatment, though the carving is not so fine, is the one from Cividale,² showing a dancing figure which is a copy of one on the cover of the Veroli. In the Correr fragment³ and the casket from Pirano,⁴ now at Vienna, we see frank copies

¹ C. Scaccia-Scarafoni, *L'Arte*, 1913, pp. 301 ff.

Dalton, *Catalogue of Fitzwilliam Museum*, p. 95.

Venturi, *op. cit.* I, p. 403, fig. 367.

² Venturi, *Le Gall. Naz. Italiane*, III, p. 262.

³ *Id. Ibid.* III, p. 268.

⁴ Graeven, *Jb. Kunsth. Samm.* XX, 1899, p. 5.

by clumsy hands of portions of the Veroli; but the gay little putti have become unwieldy huntsmen in meaningless postures, and the panthers have been given hoofs. Yet in spite of the inferiority of the work the evident intent to copy, the sense of motion, and the style of the cutting place them rather close to the model.

The group is large, and includes the important Joshua panels (Figs. 2, 3, 4) of the Morgan collection. They show the rarely



FIGURE 4.—“JOSHUA” PANEL: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

used rosette-medallion border (seen on about seven caskets and on no other panels, if one can judge from reproductions), and the subject treated is sacred. This seems to be an exception to Graeven's theory that there were different schemes of treatment for sacred and secular subjects. As these panels are very similar to one in the Victoria and Albert Museum,¹ it appears to me that Graeven's theory on this point is scarcely tenable. The casket I designate as “No. 3” (Fig. 5) in the collection falls in this group, and there is almost a replica in the collection Dutuit in Paris. The casket in the Cluny, one of the Hermitage examples, others at La Cava, Palermo, and elsewhere, are all apparently closely connected. The group is capable of subdivision perhaps, as the

¹ Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, figs. 9, 130, 132.

whirling figures of the Veroli are often absent (the Cranenburg has none) or are scarcely indicated. But the style of the cutting with the figures in almost high relief, sometimes partially free, the exaggerated muscles, the round faces, knobby treatment of the hair, and much modelling show them to be closely related.

Many of the caskets and panels which show zoöomorphic decorations, often in combination with human figures, seem in the main to fall in this same period. The casket from the Hoentschel collection (Fig. 6) is a very good illustration of the group, which includes the Rohde Hawkins panels, and others. The use of zoömorphs is directly due to oriental influence, and is present throughout the history of Byzantine art. At times on the caskets they seem almost direct copies, even in the method of handling, of those used by the oriental carvers. We see again the peacocks confronting each other with the "*Hom*" tree between them, familiar to us in other works from the hands of Byzantine artists.

With the Pulsky (Figs. 8, 9) and Oppenheim panels (Fig. 7) another style is apparent. This can best be illustrated by a comparison of the Oppenheim panel with one of the Joshua panels (Fig. 4) in the same collection, as both possibly represent the same subject, the execution of the King of Ai. The Joshua panel is a typical example of the Veroli class, that from the Oppenheim collection equally good as an illustration of its type—

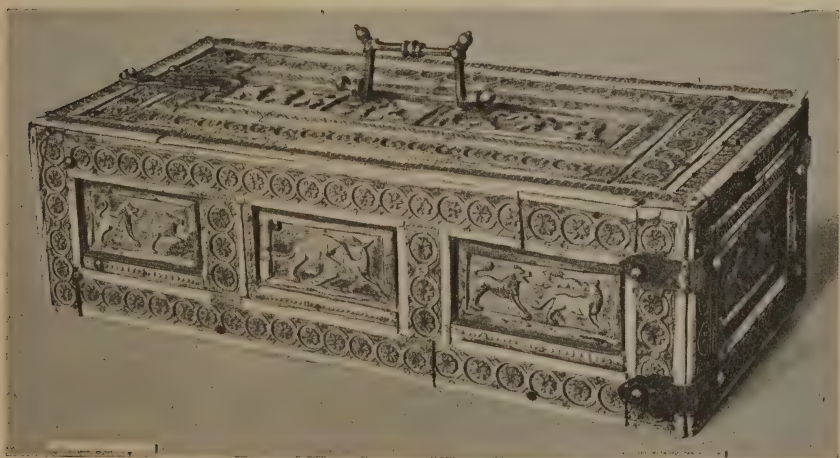


FIGURE 5.—MORGAN CASKET, NO. 3: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

that of the more stocky heavy figures, showing little if any modeling. Two inferences can be drawn from this comparison; that Graeven was mistaken in his theory of the quiet treatment for religious subjects, and that the utter change in handling marks another period of work. In looking for parallels for this new element, we find that in every case known to us the subject is sacred, and the apparent connecting link between this group and



FIGURE 6.—THE HOENTSCHEL CASKET: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

the first one is the source of inspiration. The two stories of the execution then, create a point of divergence, so that we work away from the first group rather than towards it. The same seems to be the case with some of the small panels on the Darmstadt sacred casket,¹ where the seated figures are plainly borrowed from Arezzo, Cividale, and other examples, but are treated in accordance with the new standards set for the carvers' use. Figures are heavy, built on a large awkward scale, badly

¹ Graeven, *L'Arte*, 1899, pp. 297-301.

proportioned; draperies cling stiffly to the figures with none of the swing and rhythm seen in those of the first group. As names are inscribed beside the figures there is no questioning the representation.

To the group must be added the Pulsky panels showing Adam and Eve at labor (Figs. 8, 9) seen again in the Bethune panels,¹ as well as in those at Fabriano and Darmstadt. These Morgan panels afford an excellent opportunity for studying the method of treatment, especially in regard to articulation, proportion, and rendering of hands and feet. The same characteristics are seen in the British Museum and Berlin panels of the Joseph series, the Pesaro panels, and others.

Smallest of all the caskets, but glowing with color, is the one showing on the lid a seated figure of Christ flanked by half-figures of saints and angels (Fig. 10). Sides and ends show half-figures of the apostles, each enclosed in a circle formed of vine tendrils with conventionalized leaves filling in the resultant triangular spaces; the name of each apostle appears beside him in Greek letters. Here the familiar rosette border is lacking, but the arrangement of the figures in the connecting circles is still strongly suggestive of that popular style of decoration. Similar examples of such caskets are found in the fragments at Bologna, Ravenna, and other museums. A variant on this style, with the rosette border but showing the half-figures placed in arched panels, appears in the sacred casket of the Museo Nazionale of Florence,² which, however, shows its connection in the handling of the figures.



FIGURE 7.—THE OPPENHEIM PANEL:
METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

¹ Graeven, *L'Arte*, 1899, p. 297.

² Graeven, *L'Arte*, 1899, p. 307.

Venturi, *Storia dell' Arte Italiana*, II, p. 590.

The rosette borderings vary greatly in size and style, depth of cutting, and the decoration of the resultant triangular spaces. There seems at present no way of classifying these, though they



FIGURE 8.—A PULSKY PANEL: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

were in general use throughout the period, and their absence makes instant impression.

The similarity of the scenes represented on the caskets with those in various Greek manuscripts raises the question as to whether or not the illuminators were a source of inspiration to the



FIGURE 9.—A PULSKY PANEL: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

carvers. Uncertainty as to dates for the manuscripts makes us hesitate in dealing with this side of the subject. Paris 510 with its definite date (IX century) is, unfortunately, insufficiently illustrated for purposes of comparison. Other considerations, however, such as one which has been brought forward by Dalton,¹ may be of importance. In his study of details he shows that one of the horsemen on the Cividale casket is provided with stirrups, which were not introduced into the West before the sixth century,



FIGURE 10.—THE SACRED CASKET: METROPOLITAN MUSEUM.

though in use a little earlier in the East. The same authority, in his study of the Morgan plate,² states that the style of fibula shown in one of the scenes (Saul giving audience to David) was not used after the sixth century. In the ivories which I have been able to examine, this fibula is missing, which again is against the earlier origin for the caskets. While these details indicate a date later than the sixth century, the caskets (or at least those with sacred scenes) would seem to have been made after, rather than before the Iconoclastic period.³ The curiously careless

¹ *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 218.

² *Burl. Mag.* X, p. 361. The Morgan plate bears no evidence of being contemporary with the caskets, although it possibly resembles in some respects the work on the chair of Maximianus.

³ Diehl, *L'Art byzantin*, pp. 347-348, 614, attributes the fondness for pagan scenes generally to the Iconoclastic period, in which he places the Veroli casket.

rendering of the myths, the recurrent figure of Heracles, the Byzantine tradition in the handling of all sacred subjects,—all suggest a later and an eastern origin. Those caskets which show the most vigorous action and are executed in high relief with some parts free, are the earliest. This class, known as the Veroli type, may be studied in the Joshua panels of the Morgan collection. Probably executed in the early ninth century, they seem to have furnished the style and model for later works. From these one passes by gradations of vigor and depth of carving through the whole group, reaching finally the flat figures which look as if they might have been carved from another sheet of ivory and fastened in place. They are so far away from the Veroli in technique and style that they must have been fashioned a full century or more later. The most radical change is seen in those caskets and panels which show the low relief and scantily modelled forms of the Pulsky and Oppenheim panels. Yet throughout the entire series there is a connecting thread. The Darmstadt sacred casket in its small panels retains compositions of an earlier age, but the style of modelling has changed and inscriptions are now considered necessary to interpret the subjects. Such attention to traditional style in spite of change in handling seems to point to a single source; a place where East met West and South. The orientals had always displayed a fondness for boxes in which to keep treasures, and the demand was no less in the West, so that the carvers in a cosmopolitan city were able to supply them more readily and in greater numbers than any others. If that is so, what more likely than a constant fashioning of panels and borders of all styles which could be made up quickly as orders were given? If this is a tenable hypothesis, one can account for many points of likeness which certainly prevail, and also for the constant use of the Heracles motive, as the dwellers in Constantinople still had the great bronze of Lysippus before their eyes.¹

With the Morgan ivories here at hand for study, it is my hope that the comparisons I have drawn may help some other investigator to reach even more definite conclusions.

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December, 1918.

¹ This statue is imitated on a casket at Xanten, according to Dalton, *Byzantine Art and Archaeology*, p. 216.

THE PALACE OF ODYSSEUS

A.J.A. XXIII, PP. 288-311.

SINCE the article on the Palace of Odysseus was in the press I have received two letters which indicate that it may be queried how Telemachus happened to have his spear in readiness (φ 433, cf. p. 299, note 1), inasmuch as all the weapons had been removed from the hall on the evening before. The poet has taken particular pains to make this clear. The Suitors do not bring their spears to the palace. But Telemachus, from the time when he leaves the hut of the swineherd on the morning before the day of the Slaughter (ρ 4), never suffers his spear to be far out of his reach. He rests it against one of the columns of the porch when he enters the palace to greet his mother (ρ 29), and takes it again when he goes to the agora to bring home Theoclymenus (ρ 62). After the removal of the arms he takes his own spear to his thalamus, for the next morning it is there when he arises from his couch (υ 127). Finally, when he left the hall to go to the agora (υ 145), after asking Eurycleia about the hospitality shown the Beggar, the poet tells us that he had his spear with him. The hearer would naturally infer, therefore, that when he returned for the banquet, he brought the spear into the hall and placed it in the spear-rack, near his thronos; poet and listener knew—even if Telemachus did not—that he would need the spear before the evening was over. Whether there was a spear-rack in the vestibule as well as in the hall cannot be determined; it seems probable that there was not, but that the spear was merely allowed to rest against a column of the porch when its owner intended to remain within only a few moments (ρ 29, cf. 46-52).

The reading *κεκορυθμένον* (p. 299, note 1) should not have been assigned to Miss Stawell. Professor Arthur Platt in the *Journal of Philology*, XXIV, 1896, p. 41, mentions this reading.

On page 310, note 1 reads: "There would naturally have been window-like openings on the courtyard to give light and air to the hyperoon." This should read, "on the courtyard *and the vestibule.*" Professor Baur's suggestion concerned the omitted phrase.

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL DISCUSSIONS¹

SUMMARIES OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES CHIEFLY IN CURRENT PUBLICATIONS

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GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Origin of the Alphabet.—The Greek alphabet is closely connected with the Phoenician, which, however, was not its only source. There are ten letters, for example, which are the same in the western alphabets of Caria and Spain, in Runic, and in the eastern group of Thamudite, Sabaean, and Nabathæan yet unknown in Phoenician. Similarly there are nine letters in Runic which do not exist in the Greek or Latin alphabets. In the alphabets of Caria and Spain there are thirty-two letters alike, or fifty-six in all and their values are known. Parallels for all of them may be found in the marks on potsherds of different dates in Egypt. At Thebes numerous flakes of limestone with hieratic writing have been found dating between 1500 and 1200 B.C. and among these are a few inscribed with signs. The longer alphabet such as was used in Spain and Caria was derived from these Egyptian signs, but this was later superseded by the short alphabet of the Greeks which came from the same source. (W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE, *The Origin of the Alphabet*, pp. 1-7, reprinted from *Scientia*, XXIV, 1918.)

Portraits of Greek and Roman Generals.—In *Jb. Kl. Alt.* XLI, 1918, pp. 369-388 (18 figs.) B. SAUER discusses the development of Greek portraiture as shown in the extant marble heads of Greek generals. He takes up in turn the portraits of Miltiades (?), Cimon (?), Pericles, Xanthippus (?), Alcibiades, Archidamus III, two heads of Pellichus (?), and an unidentified head in Rome. In a similar way he discusses portraits of Pompey, Caesar, Antony, Agrippa, Caligula, Trajan, Hadrian, Commodus, and Alexander Severus.

Pontus, Bithynia, and the Bosphorus.—In *B. S. A.* XXII, sessions 1916-1917; 1917-1918, pp. 1-22, is an article by M. ROSTOVTSSEV, translated from the *Russian Historical Journal* I, 1917, pp. 111-130. In it the economic and social connections between the different settlements on the coasts of the Black Sea are discussed. The conditions before the time of the Roman Empire are briefly treated, more attention being paid to the Roman period, especially to the rela-

¹ The departments of Archaeological News and Discussions and of Bibliography of Archaeological Books are conducted by Professor BATES, Editor-in-charge, assisted by Professor C. N. BROWN, Miss MARY H. BUCKINGHAM, Dr. T. A. BUENGER, Mr. L. D. CASKEY, Professor HAROLD N. FOWLER, Professor HAROLD R. HASTINGS, Professor ELMER T. MERRILL, Professor LEWIS B. PATON, Professor A. S. PEASE, Professor S. B. PLATNER, Professor JOHN C. ROLFE, Dr. JOHN SHAPLEY, Professor A. L. WHEELER, and the Editors, especially Professor MARQUAND.

No attempt is made to include in this number of the JOURNAL material published after June 30, 1919.

For an explanation of the abbreviations, see pp. 99-100.

tions existing between the imperial procurators (of whom Pliny was one) and the proconsuls.

Glass Coin Weights.—In *Num. Chron.* XVIII, 1918, pp. 111–116 W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE discusses glass coin weights, chiefly those in the possession of University College, London. They show how the Greek monograms of Roman date are to be read, that is, the main letters are given prominence and the genitive is always spelled out. In the Arabic series several important historical names occur. Great care was taken to make the weights exact. The *kharrubah* varied from 3.017 to 3.116 grains from 714 to 750 A.D., and from 2.973 to 2.983 between 750 and 780. This would give an *uncia* of 441 grains reduced to 429, a known variant of the *uncia* in Egypt. The usual weight of the *fals* is 24 and 30 *kharrubahs*, or 4 and 5 *scrupula*, and these equal 72 and 90 grains, or the Byzantine *solidus* and the double *dirhem*. In the eighth century the weights were remarkably accurate, e.g., three half *dinar* weights of the year 780 weigh 32.662, 32.665 and 32.667 grains, or within one two-hundredth of a grain of one another. The publication of a catalogue of the weights is promised.

The Celts in the Light of Recent Discoveries.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 262–270 L. JOULIN points out that during the seventh, sixth, and fifth centuries B.C. the Celts, who had created the Hallstatt civilization, possessed a great empire extending from the Baltic to the Pillars of Hercules. It was an aristocratic and military organization not unlike that of the Medes. The Hallstatt civilization gave way to that of La Tène in the last part of the fifth century, and in the fourth century the Celtic empire ceased to exist. There were, however, two dominant tribes, the Gauls and the Belgians; other parts had become independent. In the fourth and third centuries the excess of population and pressure from the Germans caused the migrations to Northern Italy and the Balkan peninsula. From the second century on the history of Gaul is known from literary sources.

The Use of Woad in Antiquity.—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XXI, 1919, pp. 43–57, J. and CH. COTTE discuss the use of woad (*Isatis tinctoria*, L.) in antiquity. Traces of it were found in the aeneolithic strata of the cave of Adaouste, and it is known to have been used extensively in northern and western Europe from an early period. In Caesar's time the warriors of Britain tattooed themselves with it. The plant grows wild in western Europe, and exists in several varieties in southern Europe and Asia Minor. It was much used for dyeing garments in southern Gaul. Woad was employed by the Romans as a substitute for the more expensive indigo, and was called by them *glastrum* or *glastum* and *vitrum*. It was known by the Greeks as *ἰσάρις*. The fact that the plant could be used as a dye was apparently discovered by the Aryans in very remote times.

Archaeological Discoveries in 1917.—In *Class. Journ.* XIV, 1919, pp. 250–257, G. H. CHASE reviews the results of archaeological discovery in 1917.

The Pei-Yu.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VIII, 1918, pp. 272–285 (3 figs.), G. GIESELER discusses the Pei-Yu, or jades suspended from the belt, princely ornaments which were suppressed in 409 B.C., the seventeenth year of the Emperor Wei-li. Their form symbolized the movements of heavenly bodies.

EGYPT

The Date of the Amarna Letters.—It is usually assumed that after the great series of campaigns undertaken by Thutmose III Palestine and Egypt remained quietly under the suzerainty of Egypt until the later years of Amenhotep IV, so that all the letters which refer to disturbed conditions in Palestine are to be assigned to the reign of the latter monarch. In *S. Bibl. Arch.* XL, 1918, pp. 100-103, E. W. HOLLINGWORTH shows that evidence exists to prove that the later years of Thutmose IV were troubled by a great revolt in Syria backed by the king of Naharina, that the Egyptian possessions there were all but lost in the early years of Amenhotep III, and that they were regained before his tenth year by the skill of his great minister Amenhotep, son of Hap.

Sacramental Ideas in Ancient Egypt.—In *S. Bibl. Arch.* XL, 1918, pp. 57-66, 86-91, A. M. BLACKMAN shows that lustrations in ancient Egypt are closely connected with the Heliopolitan sun-cult. A striking feature of Egyptian religious texts is the way in which they associate purity and cleanliness with the Sun-god. The purification which the texts describe was apparently a daily matutinal one, preceding the god's appearance above the eastern horizon. The idea that the Sun-god bathed every morning before he appeared in the eastern sky, brought ablutions and rebirth into close connection. Since the king was regarded as the embodiment of Horus, he was also regarded as the embodiment of the Sun-god. Before he could ascend to heaven the dead Pharaoh, like his divine prototype, had to undergo purification. Possibly the Egyptians believed, or hoped, that while the ablutions were being executed over the corpse by priests, the divinities whom the priest impersonated were simultaneously carrying out the same services for the deceased in the other world. Purificatory ceremonies were also undergone by the living Pharaoh. As prospective Pharaoh he was washed in infancy by the Sun-god. As actual Pharaoh he was washed again during the coronation ceremony, just before the diadems were placed upon his head. The object of these lustrations was to strengthen and confirm the connection that was supposed to exist between the living Pharaoh and the Sun-god. The living Pharaoh was believed to be reborn, like the Sun-god whose embodiment he was, through the medium of water.

Egyptian Antiquities in New York.—In *B. Metr. Mus.* XIV, 1919, pp. 144-147 (2 figs.) H. E. W(INLOCK) comments on several Egyptian antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum. 1. The two pieces of relief published *ibid.* March, 1917, may have come from Zagazig, and should perhaps be dated in the third dynasty. 2. A fragmentary inscription of King Neterbau from Koptos shows that he reduced the domain of the governor general whose power was becoming dangerous, from twenty-two to seven nomes; and another inscription shows that this was still its size three centuries later. 3. Attention is also called to a fragment of an architect's plan.

Statuettes of Egyptian Gods.—In the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society III, 1919, pp. 41-51 (6 figs.) MRS. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS calls attention to a collection of 320 statuettes of Egyptian deities recently placed upon exhibition by the New York Historical Society. They are of bronze, stone, wood, faience, glass, pottery, and a few of silver. A small figure of Bes is of gold, and another of electrum; there is an ivory Thoth, and

a small Horus of hematite veined with red jasper. The best of the bronze figures have details inlaid with gold, silver, or electrum. The gods represented are typical figures of the Egyptian pantheon.



FIGURE 1.—BRONZE STATUETTE IN ITS MOULD.

A Bronze Statuette in its Original Mould.—In the *Quarterly Bulletin* of the New York Historical Society, III, 1919, pp. 3-7 (5 figs.) Mrs. CAROLINE RANSOM WILLIAMS publishes a bronze figure of Horus still in its original mould (Fig. 1). The ancient workman had set it aside when he discovered from the head that the casting was a failure. In preparing the figure for exhibition it was found to be necessary to remove the mould as far as the armpits in order to preserve the bronze. This statuette is said to have been found at Sakkara and is probably unique.

The Detroit Collection of Egyptian Antiquities.—In the *Bulletin* of the Detroit Museum of Art, XIII, 1919, pp. 37-38 (fig.) C. C. gives a brief account of the collection of Egyptian antiquities recently installed in new quarters in the Museum. It includes

sarcophagi, pottery, utensils of stone, ushebtis, amulets, scarabs, etc.

BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA

The Reign of Rim-Sin of Larsa.—In *S. Bibl. Arch.* XL, 1918, pp. 131-134, S. LANGDON reviews the recent documentary evidence in regard to the reign of Rim-Sin and reaches the conclusion that he remained on the throne of Larsa as vassal both of Hammurabi and of Samsuiluna, and was permitted to issue his own date-formulae in the period Hammurabi 31 to Samsuiluna 12, when he again rebelled and was finally disposed of. These suppositions, which seem inevitable on the basis of contemporary documents, force us to believe that Rim-Sin ruled eighty-five years. This is the certain, but apparently incredible, conclusion that we reach, if we accept the validity of the figures in the Yale date-list.

The Deification of Kings in Ancient Babylonia.—In *S. Bibl. Lit.* XL, 1918, pp. 45-56, 69-85, S. LANGDON publishes three hymns used in the cult of deified kings of the dynasty of Ur, namely Ur-Engur, Dungi, Bur-Sin, and Gimil-Sin. The testimony of these hymns is confirmed by tablets which record the offering of sacrifices in honor of these deceased kings.

The Sacred Tree in Assyrian Art.—In *S. Bibl. Arch.* XL, 1918, pp. 111-112, (2 figs.), Miss C. GARLICK explains the conventional sacred tree of Assyrian art as representing a male-flowered palm growing in the midst of a grove of female-flowered palms, all festooned together for the festival with loops and ends of drapery, in origin a necessity for the climbing of the trees, but now merely an

adornment. The winged figure who stands by the tree is a priestly ministrant who sprinkles the pollen upon the female flowers out of a satchel which he holds in his left hand. He wears a bird headdress and wings because he symbolizes the wind, whose work he is doing.

A Prayer used by Shamash-shum-ukin, Viceroy of Babylon.—Most of the Babylonian prayers of atonement contained a formula: "I, someone, son of someone, whose god is someone, whose goddess is someone." In the recitation of these prayers the suppliant inserted his own name, that of his father, and, presumably, the names of his god and goddess. Three cases are already known in which the formula is filled up with the appropriate name. To these S. LANGDON (*S. Bibl. Arch.* XL, 1918, pp. 104-110; pl.), now adds a fourth, a tablet in the British Museum with a prayer to Sin, the Moon-god, filled in with the name of Shamash-shum-ukin, the brother of Ashurbanipal. It seems to indicate that out of a series of prayers the priests demanded the recital of only one prayer and dispensed with the primitive magical accessories. This implies a high plane of religious development and a serious reduction of the ritualistic service.

A Religious Foundation of Ashurbanipal.—In *S. Bibl. Arch.* XL, 1918, pp. 117-125, C. H. W. JOHNS reports a tablet of the British Museum which narrates how Sargon, King of Assyria, made an endowment for the temple of Sin, consisting of an estate including an orchard and a field. Subsequently the king changed his mind and converted the estate to his own use. Ashurbanipal later found the dedicatory tablet of Sargon and restored the endowment to its original purpose. Apparently he was moved to this act by the conviction that Sargon's revocation of his original decree had led to the displeasure of Sin. Neither Sargon, Sennacherib, nor Esarhaddon "died in his bed." So far as we know the pious Ashurbanipal did.

Sumerian and Babylonian Texts.—Under the title *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts* Dr. HENRY FREDERICK LUTZ publishes as the second part of the first volume of the *Publications of the Babylonian Section* of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania 139 tablets now in Philadelphia. Ninety-five are letters, seven have to do with a Sumerian code of laws, others are hymns, prayers and incantations, and a few school exercises. All of the letters in the Museum have now been published except a few very fragmentary tablets of the Cassite period. [*Publications of the Babylonian Section* of the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, Vol. I, Pt. 2: *Selected Sumerian and Babylonian Texts*. By HENRY FREDERICK LUTZ. Philadelphia, 1919, University Museum. Pp. 15-133; pls. 48-141. 4 to.]

The Relation of Tibetan to Sumerian.—In *S. Bibl. Arch.* XL, 1918, pp. 95-100, C. J. BALL reports a communication from A. Fonahn of the University of Christiania giving a long list of identical words in Tibetan and Sumerian. He also calls attention to the similar use in both languages of postpositions instead of prepositions. These facts seem to indicate that Sumerian is even nearer to Tibetan than to Chinese, with which many similarities have already been noted.

The Origin of the Babylonian Sign BAR or MAŠ.—In *J. A. O. S.* XXXIX, 1919, pp. 91-99, J. B. NIES investigates the origin of the sign *BAR* or *MAŠ*, which in archaic Babylonian has the form of a cross. The principal meanings for *MAŠ* are, "clear, pure, first, chief, twin"; for *BAR*, "decide, divide, half,

bind, surround, side." Other meanings which have been considered secondary are "fire, magic, conjurer." The sign is originally a picture of the fire-sticks with which the primitive magician kindled the sacred flame. Thus the meanings "fire, magic, and conjurer" are primitive and all the other meanings are secondary.

The Babylonian Measures of Capacity.—In *S. Bibl. Arch.* XL, 1918, pp. 136–140, C. H. W. JOHNS summarizes the present state of knowledge on the subject of the Babylonian measures of capacity. The unit was the measure called *ku*, usually written with the sign *KA*, answering to the Hebrew *kab*. Its content may be taken as roughly half a litre. The next larger measure was indicated by the sign *BAR*, which was read *ban* in Sumerian, and *satum* (=Heb. *seah*) in Babylonian. This measure might contain 5, 6, 10, or even 12 *KA*. The *PA* contained two *BAR*; the *AŠ*, three *BAR*; the *AŠ-u*, four *BAR*; the *AŠ-zu*, five *BAR*; and the *GUR*, thirty *BAR*. Thus it appears that the ratio of the higher measures from the *BAR* to the *GUR* was fixed and that only the relation of these to the *KA* was variable. It is doubtful whether the *KA* or the *BAR* varied in capacity. On the whole it is probable that the *KA* remained stationary since a practically constant number of *KA* is allowed per diem for men and for beasts.

SYRIA AND PALESTINE

The Moabite Sanctuary of Beth Peor.—In *R. Hist. Rel.* LXXVI, 1917, pp. 241–261 M. VERNES undertakes to show that it was at the Moabite sanctuary of Beth Peor that Moses received the law and gave it to the Israelites.

ASIA MINOR

Coinage of Chios.—In *Num. Chron.* 1918, pp. 1–79 (2 pls.), J. MAVROGORDATO prints the fifth and last of his articles on the chronological arrangement of the coins of Chios, covering the period from the reign of Augustus to 268 A.D.

GREECE

SCULPTURE

An Unknown Replica of the Athena Parthenos.—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XXI, 1919, pp. 20–26 (pl.) W. DEONNA publishes an unknown replica of the Athena Parthenos recently acquired by the museum at Geneva (Fig. 2). It is of terracotta and bears a rather close resemblance to the Varvakion statuette. It cannot, however, be a modern copy of it as the Varvakion statuette was discovered in 1880 and the terracotta figurine has been in the possession of the family from whom it was acquired since about 1870. The history of its discovery has been lost, but it was probably unearthed in Switzerland. The head of the Nike in the hand of the goddess is preserved, and the column beneath the hand is represented. On the base is the word ΑΘΗΝΑ. The writer discusses the genuineness of the figurine and decides in its favor.

A Bust from the Metroum of the Piraeus.—In *M. Soc. Ant. Fr.* LXXXV, 1915–1918, pp. 91–129 (fig.). E. MICHON discusses a bust of Melitine, priestess of the Metroum at the Piraeus, acquired by the Louvre in 1914. It was excavated in 1855 by Col. Vassoigne who was then occupying Piraeus with French troops. The bust dates from the second half of the second century

A.D. It is intact, but has no great artistic excellence. On the base is an inscription which was published in *C. I. L.* III, 1, No. 94, but with slight inaccuracies. Thus there are seven lines, not five; and the first ϵ of Melitine is written Θ not E.

VASES

The Pre-Mycenaean Pottery of the Mainland.—In *B. S. A.* XXII, sessions 1916–1917; 1917–1918, pp. 175–189 (6 pls.), A. J. B. WACE and C. W. BLEGEN construct a chronological series of early pottery in the Peloponnese and East-Central Greece, based upon the excavations of recent years. “Early Helladic,” “Middle Helladic,” and “Late Helladic” are new terms employed to designate the wares and periods hitherto called “Urfirnis,” “Minyan and Mattpaint,” and “Mycenaean.” Early Helladic Group I, monochrome, hand-made, sometimes with incised patterns, some jugs, sauce-boats, etc., with slip; contemporary with Early Minoan I and II. Early Helladic Group II, glazed hand-made ware, contemporary with Early Minoan II and III. Early Helladic, Group III, glazed pattern ware, hand-made, sometimes light-on-dark painting (time, Early Minoan III, Middle Minoan I). Early Helladic, Group IV, plain, undecorated ware, and Group V, large stone jars. The Middle and Late Helladic periods produced (1) Minyan Ware and (2) Mattpainted Ware. Minyan Ware includes (I) True or Grey Minyan, contemporary with Middle Minoan II; (II) Argive Minyan, of about the same date; (III) Yellow Minyan, contemporary with Middle Minoan III and the earliest shaft graves; (IV)



FIGURE 2.—A COPY OF THE ATHENA PARTHENOS.

Ephyraean Ware, a late phase of Yellow Minyan, contemporary with the end of Late Minoan I and Late Minoan II. Matt-painted Ware is divided into three groups, extending from the time of Middle Minoan I to the beginning of Late Minoan I. The first group is hand-made, the second sometimes wheel-made, the third always wheel-made. All these classes and groups are described and illustrated, and a table of chronological relations between Crete, the Cyclades, and the mainland is given.

Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums.—The Harvard University Press has published for Mr. J. D. BEAZLEY a work on the red-figured vases in American museums. The author takes up in turn the painter of the vases bearing the name of Andocides, the Meno amphora, early archaic vases, the "ripe archaic," the late archaic painters, the early free style, the "Achilles painter" and his group, Polygnotus, the "Lycaon painter," small vases of the free period, and the "ripe free style." He discusses the painters of the different periods and gives lists of vases which he thinks should be attributed to them. [*Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums.* By J. D. BEAZLEY. Cambridge, 1918, Harvard University Press. 236 pp.; 132 figs. 4 to. \$7.]

A Handbook of Greek Vase Painting.—Miss MARY A. B. HERFORD, Assistant Lecturer in Classics in the University of Manchester, has published a handbook of Greek vase painting. After a discussion of the methods of manufacture and the shapes and uses of Greek vases the author takes up in historical sequence the vases of Crete and the Cyclades, Geometric and Orientalizing wares, vases of the black and red-figured styles, and finally vase painting in Italy under Attic influence. An account is given of the characteristics of the principal painters and some of their finest works are reproduced. The book does not aim to be an exhaustive treatise, but rather a general exposition of the subject. [*A Handbook of Greek Vase Painting.* By MARY A. B. HERFORD. Manchester, 1919, University Press; London, New York, etc., Longmans, Green and Company. 121 pp.; 12 pls.; 21 figs. 8vo. \$3.75 net.]

History of the Study of Greek Vase Painting.—In *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, LVII, 1918, pp. 649-668, STEPHEN BLEEKER LUCE gives the history of the study of Greek Vase Painting from the end of the seventeenth century until the present time. All important general treatises on the subject are mentioned, as well as many other publications. A list of museums containing Greek vases is appended.

The Endymion Myth in Greek Vase Painting.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, XXVII, 1918, pp. 33-43, P. DUCATI argues that the myth of Endymion, though known to Sappho (so the scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius, IV, 57) was not made use of in Greek art until Hellenistic times. He controverts earlier interpretations of the Blacas crater and of the Attic vase published by Furtwängler and Reichhold (Series 3, fig. 16, p. 36, n. 8) believing that the figures of Helios and Selene are there used as in the east pediment of the Parthenon. In the Apulian vase from Ruvo (Collezione Jatta; *Annali dell' Istituto*, 1878, pp. 41-61, tav. G) he denies that the two bands or zones should be considered as treating one and the same subject, and explains the so-called Selene and Endymion as Aphrodite and Adonis.

The Dog in Greek Vase Painting.—In *Classical Weekly*, XII, 1919, pp. 209-213 HELEN M. JOHNSON describes the dogs depicted in Minoan and Mycenaean art and comments upon the various species which appear in Greek vase painting.

INSCRIPTIONS

Notes on Inscriptions.—In *Mnemosyne*, XLVII, 1919, pp. 66-72 G. VOLLGRAFF discusses five Greek inscriptions. 1. An unpublished inscription on bronze in his own possession he reads: [δα]ρχμᾶς πεντακισχιλλίας τριακοσίας πεντήκοντα. οὐλὴν Ἰέρας τριακοσίας. ἔ. . . The second part he reads πάντα [δαρχμ]ᾶς ἑκατὸν τέσσερας. This inscription was probably written at Zancle or Rhegium in the sixth century B.C., and evidently formed part of the accounts of a grain merchant. 2. In the inscription found near Aegae in Aeolis and published by S. Reinach (*R. Ét. Gr.* 1891, pp. 268 ff.) he punctuates after [ἐργ]ωνοῖσι in line 9, and then continues ἐν Ὀλύμπῃ ἔριον, ὅτι κε ἦ, μὴ ἐργάζεσθαι. 3. In Milet, III, p. 177, No. 33, e, 4 for οἰνοφύλαξι he reads ὠνοφύλαξι. 4. In Dittenberger, *Syll*². No. 832, line 5 for Δημόνικος Ῥίχνου he reads Δημόνικος Ῥιανοῦ. 5. *Ibid.* No. 844, lines 6 f. instead of μὴ ἔλασσον τῶν δύο he reads μὴ ἔλασσον ὕεων δύο.

A Boustrophedon Inscription from Gortyn.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, XXVII, 1918, pp. 207-220 (fig.), D. COMPARETTI publishes for the first time an archaic boustrophedon inscription found near the small entrance in the east wall of the Odeum of Gortyn. The writing is identical with that on the last block of the northern wall, with which it agrees in the use of H=η and of the spiral *beta*. The left side of the stone is broken away and owing to the boustrophedon manner of writing the lacunae are twice as great as would be the case in an ordinary inscription. These are supplied by Comparetti on the theory that the inscription deals with the witnesses that must be present at the division of inherited property, and with the oaths there taken. He believes that it is in the nature of a supplement to the law governing inheritance in Col. V of the well-known long inscription of Gortyn, or perhaps an earlier version of this part, which is, in the long inscription, stated more summarily.

Lead Tablets from Selinus.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, XXVII, 1918, pp. 193-206 (4 figs.), D. COMPARETTI treats of four inscribed lead plates, found near the sanctuary of Demeter Malophoros at Selinus, and of a similar one from Cumae, already published by Paribeni (*Not. Scav.* 1903, p. 171; discussed by Buecheler, *Rh. Mus.* LVIII, 1903, p. 624). These contain *devotiones*, of the so-called "judicial type," the imprecation being that the tongue of the opposing litigant, as also of his supporters may be twisted (ἀπεστραμμένα) and his words made ineffective (ἐπ' ἀτελείαι). Instead of the usual καταδῶ we find here used the word ἐνγράφω or simply γράφω (elsewhere καταγράφω). On dialectic and epigraphic grounds these may be placed in the fifth century, B.C.

The Decree of 401-400 in regard to the Metics.—In *R. Ét. Gr.* XXX, 1917, pp. 384-408 P. CLOCHÉ discusses the Athenian decree of the year 401-400 B.C. conferring πολιτεία on the metics who accompanied the exiled democrats in their return from Phyle and took part in the battle at Munychia against the Thirty. He estimates their number at about three hundred.

The Date of the Portico of Philo at Eleusis.—In *R. Ét. Gr.* XXXI, 1918, pp. 207-220, G. GLOTZ shows that the inscription relating to the construction of the Portico of Philo at Eleusis (*I. G.* II, 834 c) was probably cut in June or July 332 B.C. The statement of Vitruvius (VII, Pref. 17) that Philo built it while Demetrius of Phalerum was in power, *i.e.*, between 317 and 307 B.C. can only mean that it was completed at that time.

A Long Lost Inscription.—In *R. Ét. Gr.* XXXI, 1918, pp. 91–100 T. REINACH shows that a fragmentary inscription in the Biblioteca Bertoliana of Vicenza is part of the second copy of *C. I. A.* III, 5 of which three copies are known to have been cut. Fourmont saw and copied this fragment in Athens in 1730, but it has been lost for many years. It is now known to have been in the collection of Pietro Zaguri at Venice at the beginning of the nineteenth century and to have gone to Vicenza in 1811.

A Delphic Decree in Honor of the Thurians.—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XXI, 1919, pp. 77–90 E. BOURGUET discusses the decree of the Delphians granting *προμαντεία* to the people of Thurii (see *B.C.H.* XX, 1896, pp. 678–686). He restores ll. 13–15 *προ[μα]ντηρίαν π[ρὸ] Ἰτ[αλ]ιωτᾶν [πᾶν]των* in place of Dittenberger's *π[ρὸ] αλιωτᾶν [ἑόν]των*. There were no such officers as *προαλιῶται* at Delphi. In ll. 15–18 he proposes *Ταραν[τί]νου[s] δέον [ἐπα]λλ[α] [ἡ]λου[s] εἰμε[ν] Θουρίοις* as giving the sense but perhaps not the words of the original. He suggests 344–3 B.C. as the date of the decree and of the archonship of Thebagoras.

Documents from Mylasa.—In *B. S. A.* XXII, sessions 1916–1917; 1917–1918, pp. 190–215, W. H. BUCKLER publishes, or reprints with supplements, restorations, and comments, the series of documents from Mylasa and the neighboring Olymos, which relate to the management of the landed investments of Carian temples in the first century B.C. Most of the texts were published by Waddington (*L. B. W.* III, 323–416); others have appeared in periodicals. Leases might be made to an individual acting as agent for one of the four *συγγένεια* which composed the *demos* of Olymos. This individual was probably always *ταμίης* of the *συγγένεια* and might act as its surety (*ἐγγυος*). Leases might be assigned, but then the original lessee continued to pay the nominal rent of one drachma. Rent might, as a privilege, be paid in produce. The rent was guaranteed by sureties, who might be one person or several. *Διεγγυήσεις* signifies the acceptance of suretyship.

The Decree of Bargylia in Honor of Posidonius.—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XXI, 1919, pp. 1–19 M. HOLLEAUX discusses the long inscription in three parts copied by C. Blondel at Bargylia in 1873 and published by P. Foucart in 1903 (*M. Acad. Inscr.* XXXVII, pp. 327 f., 334 f.). He corrects and restores the text in a number of places. The decree is important historically because of the light it throws on the war of Aristonicus.

A Greek Title.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VIII, 1918, pp. 221–238, MAURICE HOLLEAUX discusses fourteen inscriptions containing the title *στρατηγός ἀνθύπατος*, which can be at least approximately dated; three containing the same title, the date of which is uncertain; two in which the title is doubtfully restored; a fragment of Memnon (*Fr. Hist. Gr.* III, frg. 26, p. 539) and a decree of the Prienians (*Inscr. v. Priene*, 109, l. 120), in which the title occurs by mistake; and the letter of the Parians preserved by Josephus (*Ant. Iud.* XVI, 10, 8, 213–216). The reading in the manuscripts of Josephus is *στρατηγός ὑπατος*. The article is an introduction to a forthcoming study of the true meaning of this title *στρατηγός ἀνθύπατος*.

Notes on Inscriptions of Imperial Date.—In *R. Ét. Gr.* XXXI, 1918, pp. 221–240 P. GRAINDOR discusses several Greek inscriptions dating from imperial Roman times. 1. He shows that there were two archons named Philopappus. The first was the son of Antiochus IV of Commagene and held office some time between 75 and 91 A.D.; the second, who lived at a later time, died in office and

was succeeded by a certain Laelianus. 2. The two fragments *I. G. III*, 7 and 55 belong to the same stele which was a decree in honor of Hadrian. 3. *I. G. III*, 132 and 132*a* belong together. The inscription, which is a dedication to Asclepius and Hygieia, dates from the end of the second or the beginning of the third century A.D. 4. Dittenberger's dating of *I. G. III*, 1012 in the time of the Antonines is shown to be too late. It should be between the beginning of the first century and the reign of Claudius.

The Epitaph of Apronia of Salona.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 308–310, C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU suggests a new reading for the tenth line of the Greek epitaph of Apronia found at Sophia, Bulgaria, *i.e.* (ε)ὐμύ(ρι) (for εὐμοίρει), *Ἀπρωνία*.

Epigraphic Bulletin.—In *R. Ét. Gr.* XXX, 1917, pp. 409–425, P. ROUSSEL and G. NICOLE publish a bulletin of Greek inscriptions, including brief notices of inscriptions published in German and Austrian periodicals.

COINS

Die-positions in Ancient Coinage.—J. MAVROGORDATO confirms the suggestion of Mr. Milne made in *Num. Chron.* 1917, pp. 315–16, that in the ancient process of coinage the symmetrical position of the two dies was not secured by hinging them together, as had hitherto been supposed, but by marking the upper one in some way (*Num. Chron.* 1918, pp. 131–2).

The Value of the Chalcos of Delphi.—In *R. Ét. Gr.* XXXI, 1918, pp. 88–90, G. GLOTZ shows that the chalcos of Delphi had the value of one twelfth of an obol as at Delos, Orchomenus in Boeotia, Coreyra, etc. and not of one eighth as had been supposed. In the Delphian inscription published in *B.C.H.* 1902, pp. 53–54, l. 13 *καρι* must be restored, not *τριών*.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Italian Contributions to the Study of Greek Archaeology.—In *Atene e Roma* XXII, 1919, pp. 15–38, B. PACE surveys the contributions of Italians to our knowledge of the archaeology of Greece. He gives an account of the work of the early travelers Cyriac of Ancona in the fifteenth century, Urbano Valeriano Bolzani, Giovanni Bembo, Benedetto Ramberti, Francesco Barozzi, Bernardino D'Amico, and Antonio Possevino in the sixteenth, and Cornelio Magni in the seventeenth. The last mentioned has left important records of the monuments of Greece. In the seventeenth century many antiquities were brought to Venice and other Italian cities from Greece and Crete. In the eighteenth century Giovan Filippo Mariti, for eight years consul of Tuscany at Larnaka, Cyprus, explored Cyprus, Palestine, and Syria and published an account of his travels in nine volumes, 1769–1776. Archaeology had an important part in this work. Domenico Sestini, numismatist and archaeologist, at one time director of the museum at Catania and later honorary professor at the University of Pisa, was in the Orient from 1777 to 1792 and visited all of Asia Minor, Mesopotamia, the Aegean, and the Balkan peninsula. He copied many inscriptions and published important accounts of Constantinople, Cyzicus, Nicea, Ephesus, Tralles, Pergamon, Aphrodisia, etc. Italian artists also contributed to the archaeological work of others. Thus Borra accompanied Wood and Dawkins to Palmyra and Baalbek, Pomardi made most of the drawings for Dodwell, Lusieri assisted Lord Elgin, etc. In the early part of the nineteenth century

Luigi Settala made discoveries at Carthage, and Gen. Camillo Borgia de Velletri in Tunisia. The Genoese naturalist Paolo della Cella, who traveled in Tripolis and Cyrenaica, also described antiquities; and Count Carlo Vidua di Conzani in 1819-1820 traveled all over the Turkish empire and copied many inscriptions. More recent names are those of Biliotti, famous for his work in Rhodes, and Cesnola, who worked in Cyprus. Brief mention is also made of Antonio Salinas, Luigi Adriano Milani, Gherardo Ghirardini, Federico Halbherr, and others. In 1910 the Italian Institute of Archaeology was established in Athens under the directorship of Dr. Pernier.

The Alleged Kingship of the Olympic Victor.—In *B. S. A.* XXII, sessions 1916-1917; 1917-1918, pp. 85-106, E. NORMAN GARDINER finds that there is no ground for the theory that the Olympic contest was a contest for the throne or that the victor was regarded as a King. No early connection between the worship of Hera and that of Zeus at Olympia is proved. Olympia is connected with the north and west, not with the Aegean. The worship of Zeus reached Olympia from Dodona before it reached Crete, and there is no trace of connection between Olympia and Crete until the close of the eighth century. The worship of Hera came from Argos at a later date than the worship of Zeus. The origin of the games is not necessarily religious at all. Games were naturally held at festivals, for those were the only times of peace and leisure.

The Campaign and Battle of Mantinea in 418 B. C.—In *B. S. A.* XXII, sessions 1916-1917; 1917-1918, pp. 51-84 (pl.), W. J. WOODHOUSE discusses the evidence relating to the campaign of 418 B. C. and the battle of Mantinea, with the result that King Agis appears as a brilliant leader, not as a victor merely through good fortune and the fighting qualities of his troops. The account given by Thucydides, like that given of the battle of Plataea by Herodotus, is inspired by hostility to Sparta.

The Gordian Knot.—In *R. Ét. Gr.* XXXI, 1918, pp. 39-82, 141-184 (19 figs.) W. DEONNA argues that the Gordian knot which Alexander cut was a mystic knot which had belonged to Zeus before it became associated with Gordius. It was made from a sacred plant which was probably connected with the cosmic tree. The chariot to which the knot was attached was solar, as was the eagle which alighted on the yoke of the chariot. A knot or knotted ornament which is described as being without beginning or end is found as far back as Babylonian times. It was represented by a character which resembles a figure eight lying on its side, the mathematical sign for the infinite. The Gordian knot was a cosmic knot without beginning or end. In cutting it and so fulfilling the oracle which promised the sovereignty of Asia to the man who solved the problem Alexander was posing as a celestial deity.

The Knots used by the Greeks.—In *Eranos* XVI, 1916, pp. 51-81 (2 pls.; 8 figs.), H. ÖHRVALL discusses at length the different kinds of knots used in antiquity and attempts to identify some of their Greek names. In this connection he studies especially Oribasius.

The Narcissus in Homer and in Sophocles.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VIII, 1918, pp. 301-316, SALOMON REINACH discusses the references to the narcissus in the Homeric Hymn to Demeter, in Sophocles' *Oedipus at Colonus*, and elsewhere. He finds that there was an early form of the myth of Persephone (Cora) in which she was not carried off in his chariot by Pluto, but fell into a fissure which was marked by a gigantic narcissus. Demeter lighted two

torches to seek her daughter, not on earth, but under the earth. The great goddesses crowned with narcissus (*Oed. Col.* 684; read *μεγάλων θεῶν*, not *μεγάλαιν θεῶν*, though the latter is the reading of the Laurentian MS.) are the Eumenides, not Demeter and Cora. The word *νάρκισσος* is not Greek, and its connection with *νάρκη* is an error of popular etymology.

Strabo and Demetrius of Scepsis.—In *B.S.A.* XXII, sessions 1916-1917; 1917-1918, pp. 23-47 (pl.), WALTER LEAF discusses the relations of Strabo to the interesting scholar Demetrius of Scepsis. He finds that Strabo derived all his information about the Troad from Demetrius. His blunders are misunderstandings. Several of these, involving questions concerning the geography of the Troad, are discussed.

Strabo V, iii.—In *B. S. A.* XXII, sessions 1916-1917; 1917-1918, pp. 48-50, A. W. VAN BUREN corrects the text of Strabo's description of Rome at two points. In V, iii, 8, the words *διόπερ ἱεροπρεπέστατον . . . ἐντὸς δ' αἰγέροις κατάφυτος* should be transferred to a position between *τὴν θέαν* and *πλησίον* a few lines above. In V, iii, 10, the passage *καὶ Ἀλέτριον . . . ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων ἀποστᾶσα* is to be regarded as a revision by Strabo, an alternative for *παρ' ἥν ὁ Λεῖρις . . . καὶ Μινυόβρας* a few lines below.

ITALY

VASES

The Names of Roman Potters.—In *Eranos*, XVI, 1916, pp. 161-180, H. GUMMERUS discusses the makers' names found on Roman pottery of different types.

INSCRIPTIONS

The Stele of the Roman Forum.—In *Cl. Phil.* XIV, 1919, pp. 87-88, T. FRANK, on the basis of geological data furnished by Commendatore Verri, traces the tufa of the stele of the Forum to the region north of the Cremera rather than to that of the Alban volcanic action, and concludes that the inscription dates from before 509 B.C., and is a relic of the Etruscan occupation of Rome.

The Columna Rostrata of Duilius.—In *Cl. Phil.* XIV, 1919, pp. 74-82, T. FRANK advances the theory that an original tufa inscription of 260 B.C. on the column of Duilius was restored about 150 B.C. in certain places where it was illegible, and that this restoration was done in the orthography of the day. The whole was then copied on marble in the early empire. The inconsistencies in the spelling of the inscription would be thus explainable.

An Emendation to the Monumentum Ancyranum.—Sir. J. E. SANDYS supports from numismatic evidence the view of the late Sir John Evans that in *Mon. Ancy.* (§ 32) the imperfect name of the second of the two British kings who sought the protection of Augustus should be read as TINCOMMIVS. Mr. Rice Holmes (*Ancient Britain*, p. 365) is wrong in saying that all three sons of Commius used the title REX, but possibly right in finding a common object for the appeal to Augustus made by Tincommius and Dumnobellaunus. (*Num. Chron.* 1918, pp. 97-110; pl.)

A Latin Inscription in Cologne.—Apropos of the publication of a bronze stele inscribed with the words *utere felix digne merito* (*B. Arch. C. T.* 1918,

pp. ix ff.) C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU points out (*C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 250-260) that the bronze inscription in Cologne (*C. I. L.* XIII, 229) has been incorrectly interpreted. He reads it *hego scribo sine mi(hi) manum*.

The Latin Tablet of Tolsum.—In 1917 there was found at Groot-Tolsum in Friesland a wax tablet recording in Latin the purchase of an ox (see Vollgraff, *Mnemosyne*, XLV, 1917, pp. 341-352). It resembles other tablets found at Pompeii and elsewhere, but is earlier than any of them. In *R. Ét. Anc.* XXI, 1919, pp. 91-96 U. P. BOISSEVAIN edits and translates it, with a commentary. Vollgraff dated it in 116 A.D., but it should be placed in 16, 18, 21, 22, or 26 A.D. when the names of the *consules suffecti* are not known.

COINS

Roman Monetary System.—In *Num. Chron.* 1918, pp. 155-186, E. A. SYDENHAM publishes the first of a series of articles in which he purposes to trace the growth of the Roman monetary system from its inception (about 335 B.C.) down to the final stage reached in the fourth century A.D. The present article was intended to serve as an introduction to that by the late Canon Beanlands, which follows it in the same number of the *Chronicle*. During the first period (335-286 B.C.) the coinage was contending with that of other Italian communities, and developing from a local into a national coinage. The standard was at first that of the Osco-Latin *libra* (273 grms.); but the coins tended to diminish in weight, which diminution became especially noticeable about 312 B.C., at which date the *uncia* was temporarily dropped from the coinage. The coins of 312 are distinguishable from those of the earlier period by the prow on the reverse being turned to the left. The metal used in all is a yellow bronze (copper, tin, lead), not different in appearance from the later *orichalcum*. There was no silver coined in Roman mints, but in exchange the relative value of silver to bronze appears to have been reckoned as 120:1 (as against Ridgeway's ratio of 288:1).

The second period (286-268 B.C.) is ushered in by the semi-libral reduction, all coins being cut down to one half their original weight. The *uncia* reappears; the *semiuncia* and *quartuncia* are introduced; and henceforth the smaller pieces from the *sextans* downward are struck instead of cast. The Osco-Latin standard was retained for the semi-libral *as*, but the fractions were all coined on the neo-Roman libral standard (327 grms.). The *as* is thus only ten *unciae* in weight, and the intervening fractional coins are multiples of the *uncia*. The tendency to reduce the actual weight of the coins continued chaotically, as in the first period, but there was no such thing as a recognized triental or quadrantal reduction.

The third period (268-217 B.C.) is marked at its opening by the reduction of the *as* to one sixth of a *libra* (neo-Roman standard), and of the lesser denominations in proportion. Silver coinage was introduced, and the old relation of value between silver and bronze thus maintained, despite the reduction in weight of the bronze coins.

At the beginning of the fourth period, which lasted from 217 to 88 B.C., the weight of the *as* was further reduced to an *uncia*, but the *denarius* was to exchange for 16 *asses*, except in the payment of soldiers' wages, and its weight to be no longer four, but only three and one half, *scripula* of silver. The relation of silver to bronze was 110:1.

At the opening of the fifth period (88-82 B.C.) the weight of the *as* was reduced to half an *uncia*, and the relation of silver to bronze became 55:1. Within a few years the regular issue of bronze coins from the Roman mint ceased until Augustus reorganized the coinage (20-15 B.C.).

But meanwhile half a dozen sporadic issues of bronze coins (46-20 B.C.) in various places paved the way for the Augustan reform, and introduced the use of *orichalcum* (copper and zinc with a trifle of lead) and of nearly pure copper in coinage. Augustus proceeded to coin the *sestertius* and *dupondius* in *orichalcum* and the *as* and *quadrans* in copper. The value of *orichalcum* in relation to copper was $1\frac{2}{3}$:1; and a bimetallic principle was introduced into Roman coinage. The normal weights of the new coins appear to have been (in *scripula*) *sestertius*, 24; *dupondius*, 12; *as*, 10; *quadrans*, $2\frac{1}{2}$.

Origin of the Augustan Sestertius.—The late canon ARTHUR BEANLANDS essayed to answer in an ingenious article (*Num. Chron.* 1918, pp. 187-204) a number of puzzling questions regarding the nature and causes of the Augustan reforms in coinage, and the reasons why it was not more permanent, and was finally abandoned at about the end of the third century. It attempted to arrest the depreciation in value of the *as*, and to stabilize money values, by "an experiment in trimetallism," whereby the relative value of copper to silver should be maintained by the intervention of the coins of *orichalcum*, a metal of then unknown constitution, good appearance and durability, and sufficient rarity. It also aimed to make the Roman a satisfactory world-coinage. The experiment was well-devised, and would probably have been successful, had the government not ruined it by continued degradation of the *denarius*. MESSRS. SYDENHAM and S. W. SMITH record their dissent from certain conclusions of the article.

Roman Legionary Coinage of Severus and Gallienus.—An article by C. OMAN (*Num. Chron.* 1918, pp. 80-96; pl.) does much to clarify knowledge of the numbering and history of the Roman legions, and especially sets right many errors due to blunders in the descriptions in Cohen of coins of the later Roman emperors commemorating the legions. Fourteen of Cohen's legionary types are thus got rid of. Incidentally the author remarks that Cohen's estimate of prices has no real relation to the rarity of the individual coins.

The Origin of the Libra.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, XXVII, 1918, pp. 3-22, GIULIO DE PETRA, in discussing the oriental or Babylonian origin of the Roman *libra*, with its characteristic prevalence of the numbers 12 and 24, goes into the general question of the origin of the use of gold and silver as money, the weights of various staters and minae, and traces the course of these units, variously modified, through Lydia and Etruria to Rome.

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

The Subterranean Basilica near the Porta Maggiore.—In *C. R. Acad. Insc.* 1918, pp. 272-275 F. CUMONT describes the underground basilica found almost intact near the Porta Maggiore (*A. J. A.* XXIII, 1919, pp. 82 f.). It was probably owned by the patron of the secret society which met in it. About 200 m. away there was a burial place for slaves of the *gens Statilia*, and it is known that about 52 A.D. Statilius Taurus, at the instigation of Agrippina, was accused of *magicae superstitiones* (Tac. *Ann.* XII, 59). The reference is probably to the rites performed in this building. Cumont conjectures that

the society was a neo-Pythagorean association. See also C. RICCI, *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, XXVII, 1918, pp. 23-24.

The Position of the Altar of Consus.—In *B. Soc. Ant. Fr.* 1917, pp. 165-168 (2 figs.) J. FORMIGÉ points out that at one end of the circus at Arles there is a horseshoe-shaped base decorated with sculptures, and in the circus at Dougga in Tunisia a similar base bearing inscriptions. A vault below served as a support for small obelisks. In this base was a horseshoe-shaped room with the curve facing the curved end of the circus. It was entered by a door in the flat side which faced the spina. This peculiar feature was probably introduced in imitation of the circus in Rome, and the altar of Consus, Formigé thinks, was placed in this room. It was thus easily accessible and at the same time protected from injury from the racing horses and chariots.

The Origin of the Roman Forum.—In *Class. Journ.* XIV, 1918, pp. 433-440, N. W. DEWITT suggests on etymological, historical, and religious grounds, that the Roman Forum was originally the private courtyard of the king, entered through the Janus gate. (See also *A. J. A.* XXIII, 1919, p. 72.)

The Porticos of the Forum Holitorium.—In *B. Com. Rom.* XLV, 1917, pp. 168-192 R. LANCIANI discusses the topography of the porticos of the Forum Holitorium and related questions.

The Gates of the Aurelian Wall.—In *B. Com. Rom.* XLV, 1917, pp. 193-217 L. MARIANI gives an account of the recent changes in the gates of the Aurelian wall made necessary by the growth of traffic. The Porta Lateranense was enlarged by the addition of four simple arches newly broken into the wall. The Porta Maggiore was restored to its former size by the reopening of two ancient arches. Remains of paintings were found on the walls and vaults of both of these. One set depicted garlands, vases, birds, etc., the other scenes from the Pelops-Oenomaus myth arranged in zones. This last group covered an earlier decoration of masks, festoons, etc. The paintings were probably made when the arches had already been closed and converted into rooms of some *caupona*. Besides opening up the side arches the administration also removed the modern "diaphragms" which reduced the size of the central arches, as well as some adjacent structures. The exterior of the Porta San Lorenzo was left in the shape it had acquired in the Middle Ages, the interior was restored as much as possible to its Augustan form. The base of what was probably a Republican aedicula, remains of a mediaeval chapel with bits of paintings of the tenth century, parts of walls, a well, etc., were discovered in the course of the work. The Porta Pinciana was repaired where necessary but not changed.

Domitian's Villa in the Alban Hills.—The article on 'Ancient Villas of the Alban Hills before the Occupation by Domitian' published by G. LUGLI in *B. Com. Rom.* for 1914 is followed *ibid.* XLV, 1917, pp. 29-78 by the same author's essay on 'The Villa of Domitian on the Alban Hills. Part 1. General Topography.' He treats of the situation of the various parts of this *massa Caesariana*, its plan, the probable architect, its relation to the Arx Albana, the roads, aqueducts, historical memories of the place, the military guard, legal questions connected with the inheritance of the estate, and the final fate of the property. Part 2, on the central structures is promised.

The Jupiter of the Palatine.—In *B. Com. Rom.* XLV, 1917, pp. 79-92 PIETRO ROMANELLI discusses the cult of Jupiter on the Palatine especially in

his qualities as Stator and Victor. The dedication of a precinct in both cases seems to be bound up with the very origin of the city. The temples date from the first half of the third century B.C. when a revival of the worship of old Roman divinities seems to have been brought about by a desire to counteract the spread of Greek cults. The Palatine Jupiter lost his primitive character of sky god sooner than the Joves of the other hills because of the early growth of the politico-military influence of the Palatine commonwealth.

The Rite of Driving a Nail into the Temple of Jupiter.—In *M. Soc. Ant. Fr.* LXXV, 1915–1918, pp. 43–80 J. TOUTAIN investigates the practice of driving a nail into the walls of the temple of Jupiter Optimus Maximus at Rome on certain occasions. In very early times it was an annual practice performed by the chief magistrate upon assuming the duties of his office. In the fourth century B.C. and later it was a *piaculum* resorted to only under very exceptional circumstances and performed by a dictator. At Vulsinii in Etruria this ceremony was an annual rite. The *ver sacrum* at Rome appears to have had a similar history.

The Cult of Aesculapius at Rome.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, XXVI, 1917, pp. 573–580, ALFONSO BARTOLI, discussing a passage of Pliny, relating to the introduction into Rome of the cult of Aesculapius, reaches the conclusion, that Pliny was right in stating that the Romans when they received the cult of Aesculapius built a temple "outside the city," and later one in the *Insula*. There is no evidence for a cult of Aesculapius in Rome prior to 293 B.C. It is just as arbitrary to put the origin of the temple *extra urbem* before 293 as it is logical to connect it with the events of this year. When the serpent from Epidaurus was brought to Rome, a second temple was established in the *Insula*, the site supposedly chosen by the serpent itself. Bartoli believes that Pliny's words will bear the interpretation that this temple replaced the earlier one.

The Obelisk of Domitian.—In *B. Com. Rom.* XLV, 1917, pp. 103–124, O. MARUCCI publishes the fragments of the top of Domitian's obelisk on the Piazza Navona which are now in the Vatican. The sculptures of the top showing the emperor before Isis together with certain expressions of the inscription on the sides seem to indicate that the obelisk was originally made for the temple of Isis in the Campus Martius. From this place it was later removed to the circus of Maxentius.

The Effect of Earthquakes on Roman Buildings.—In *B. Com. Rom.* XLV, 1917, pp. 3–28, R. LANCIANI discusses the effects of earthquakes on the following Roman structures: Porticus Jovia-Herculia, Coliseum, San Paolo fuori le mura, Basilica SS. Nerei et Achillei, and the obelisks. He also points out that seismic disturbances played a large part in the destruction of Ostia.

The Bronzes of Mount Idda.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 163–168 (3 figs.) A. TARAMELLI publishes the results of an investigation of the place of discovery of the ancient nuraghic bronzes, found on Mt. Idda, Sardinia, and reported in *Not. Scav.* for April, 1915, p. 89.

Terracotta Funerary Masks.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 145–155 (8 figs.) A. TARAMELLI describes four terracotta funerary masks (Fig. 3), one of which, found in the Punic necropolis of Tharros in Sardinia, has recently come into the possession of the Museum at Cagliari. Of the others, two are from Tharros and the third from S. Sperate. Their purpose was prophylactic.

The Decadence of Etruria.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, XXVI, 1917, pp. 603-623, ARTURO SOLARI, in treating of the communes of Etruria, from the Dodecapolis of pre-Roman times to the *Novem Pagi* of Pliny (III, 52) and the

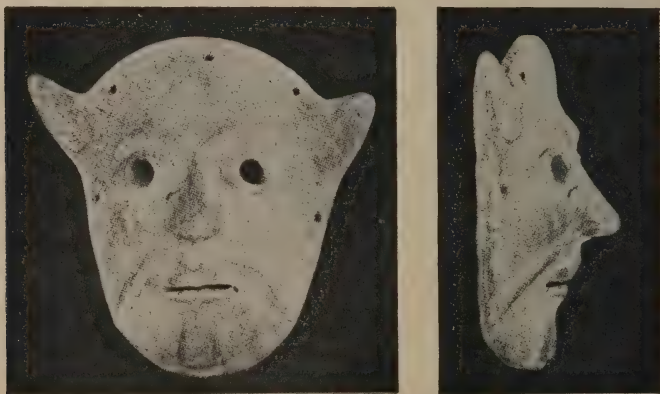


FIGURE 3.—TERRACOTTA FUNERARY MASK: SARDINIA.

Septem Pagi of Dionysius (II, 53) traces the decadence of Etruria in the decrease of its population and the disappearance of many of its communal centres.

The Population of Rome in the Time of Constantine.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, XXVI, 1917, pp. 60-87, G. CALZA, in connection with the question of the population of Rome in the time of the Emperor Constantine, advances the theory that the word *insula*, as used in the *Regionarii*, means simply "house." He discusses the various interpretations given to this word by other scholars and their deductions as to the population, and concludes that, with an inhabited area of 9,500,000 square meters (4,000,000 additional forming streets, squares, etc.), the population numbered 1,800,000, reckoning 40 inhabitants to each house.

Roman Wine Casks.—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XX, 1918, pp. 249-252 J. BREUER describes six Roman wine casks discovered at different times at Vechten and Arentsburg, Holland. No complete stave was preserved, but the approximate length can be determined as well as the number of staves in a cask. On the outer side of some of the staves are branded marks of wine dealers, and on the inside are sometimes found similar marks of the barrel makers. The height of one cask is estimated at 1.30 m. and that of another at 1.40 m. One contained a spigot.

A Tomb at Magliano-Romano.—In *Not. Scav.* XV, 1918, pp. 123-127 (2 figs.) P. ROMANELLI describes a tomb of the first or second century A.D. which was discovered some years ago at Magliano-Romano in Etruria, and edits a Roman inscription, which was incompletely and inaccurately published by Tomassetti (*La Campagna Romana*, III, p. 270).

SPAIN

Antequera.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VIII, 1918, pp. 239–271 (13 figs.), PIERRE PARIS describes three tombs (dolmens) in the neighborhood of Antequera, Spain. All have been known for a long time. The largest is the Cueva de Menga, the hall of which is more than 25 m. in length, about 4 m. in width, and 6 m. in height. The roof, of immense stones, is supported by three monolithic roughly squared pillars. The Cueva de Viera is much smaller and has no pillars. The Cueva del Romeral has a circular chamber, roofed with a corbelled dome, all of rather small, rough stones. It has a small square burial chamber. All these tombs were apparently plundered in antiquity. Their resemblance to tombs of the eastern Mediterranean region is striking; but it is not clear that the neolithic age in Spain borrowed these forms from the East. The round, domed tomb seems to be a natural development from the usual form of dolmen. The remains of Christian and Moorish Antequera are briefly described, and the tale of two lovers who ended their lives by leaping from the Peña de los Enamorados is told.

FRANCE

Prehistoric Archaeology of the Franche-Comté.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VIII, 1918, pp. 317–328, MAURICE PIROUTET describes and discusses various objects which throw light upon early civilization in Gaul. A bronze arrow-head found in a tomb at Refranche (Doubs) is of Greek form, intended to cause or increase rotary motion in the flying arrow. The tomb is of the late Hallstatt period. Perhaps, then, the Greeks used bronze for certain weapons when iron was exclusively used in Gaul. Shells of the *Helix pomatia* have been found under conditions which prove the existence of the creature in Gaul before the Roman occupation. The rotating mill is found to have been introduced into Gaul shortly before the end of the first Iron Age, doubtless through Hellenic influence. The continued use of stone utensils after the introduction of metal is declared to be a myth. Fragments of two vases of a dark, hard stone found at Château-sur-Salins (and others found elsewhere in France) are attributed to importation in Bronze Age III or the end of Bronze Age II. Perhaps the vases came from Egypt, where a bronze lance of European type has been found in a tomb of the twelfth dynasty. In a tomb of the late Hallstatt period at Clucy (Jura) a girdle of detached plates has been found, along with other objects. The girdle from Panges (Côte-d'Or) is therefore no longer unique.

A Note on the God of Viège.—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XXI, 1919, pp. 143–144 (fig.), W. DEONNA adduces further evidence to prove the celestial significance of the attributes of the god of Viège. He traces a connection between the lion-headed serpent with rays on its head, of the gnostic amulets (which was derived ultimately from the Egyptian god Chnum) and the key of the god of Viège.

Ancient Roads in the Jura.—In *R. Ét. Anc.* XXI, 1919, pp. 115–137, M. PIROUTET discusses the roads through the Jura particularly in Roman times.

NORTHERN AFRICA

The Archaeological Museum at Tripolis.—The archaeological museum of Tripolis possesses important collections of antiquities including mosaics, fres-

coes, sculptures, architectural fragments, inscriptions, glass vessels, terracottas, and coins. The most important mosaic has gladiatorial combats and hunting scenes; another has figures of the Seasons, fish, dwarfs fighting cranes, etc.; still others, more or less fragmentary, represent mythological scenes, such as Oedipus and the Sphinx. Among the paintings a Bacchus on horseback with a panther in flight is noteworthy. It was probably the work of an Alexandrian artist. The more important sculptures include a Victory, a tipsy Dionysus and satyr, a torso of Apollo of Praxitelean style, an Ephesian Artemis, a torso of a Venus, and a Venus pudica. (G. DE MEO, *Il Progresso Italo-Americano*, July 11, 1919.)

Mosaics from the Villa di Zliten.—In *Rend. Acc. Lincei*, XXVII, 1918, pp. 25–32 (4 figs.), L. MARIANI describes a number of wall-paintings and mosaics found in the Villa di Zliten in the Tripolitana and now in the Museum of Tripolis. They represent, in particular, hunting and fishing scenes. One of the best is the youthful Bacchus riding on a panther, mentioned above.

The Catadas River.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VIII, 1918, pp. 286–300, EUSÈBE VASSEL discusses the Catadas river mentioned by Ptolemy (*Geog.* IV, iii, ed. Müller, Vol. I, ii, 1901, p. 619). The various other forms of the name, and the occurrences of it in writings and maps, are noted. The name *Karâdas* is explained as a corruption of the name of Carthage. The “river Catada” means “the river of Carthage,” and is to be identified with the Lake of Tunis. The *Mazula colonia* of Pliny is identified with Radès.

EARLY CHRISTIAN, BYZANTINE AND MEDIAEVAL ART GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

A Fragmentary Relief of the Fourth Century.—In the Museum of Barletta are two interesting fragments of sculptured relief which are published by M. SALMI in *L'Arte*, XXI, 1919, pp. 241–246 (8 figs.). Though badly damaged and now of different dimensions, it can be ascertained that they originally formed one relief, probably on the front of a sarcophagus. They treat one subject, the Healing of the Woman with the Issue of Blood. In spite of the Greek writing, which serves to identify the various characters of the relief, particulars of the technique and expression imply Roman origin. There are also present Byzantine features. More complete analysis places the relief in a class of monuments the style of which germinated, in all probability, in Constantinople and flourished in the fourth century.

The Beginnings of Romanesque Sculpture.—In *Gaz. B.-A.* XV, 1919, pp. 47–60 (9 figs.) A. K. PORTER discusses Emile Mâle's recent review of his book, *Lombard Architecture* (*Ibid.* Jan.–Mar. 1918). Among the questions here considered is the relationship between the sculptures of “Master Nicolò” and those of Saint-Etienne. This relationship has been recognized, but it seems much more reasonable that the creator of the latter sculptures was influenced by Nicolò rather than the reverse. Nicolò, to be sure, was subject to Languedoc influences but through other sources. In his criticism M. Mâle seems too prone to exalt the importance of France by depreciating that of Italy. The critic's doubt of Master Guglielmo's authorship of the sculptures of Cremona cannot be upheld, nor his late dating of the activity of that artist. The porch of Charlieu throws new light on the question of the origin of both Lom-

bard sculpture and that of Languedoc. The work appears to be indigenous and if the date 1094 can be accepted for it, we can see here the origin of the art of Guglielmo and of Toulouse.

Modes in Byzantine Music.—In *B. S. A.* XXII, sessions 1916–1917; 1917–1918, pp. 133–156, A. J. W. TILLYARD discusses, with examples, the modes in Byzantine music, their varieties, their relations to Oriental music, and the theories relating to them. The Oriental traits in Byzantine music are a later accretion, not mediaeval. The music of modern Greek folk-songs, can, it appears, be expressed in European notation, the scales being approximately like our own.

Mediaeval Refinements and Modern Construction.—In the *Brooklyn Museum Quarterly*, V, 1918, pp. 219–244; 11 figs. W. H. G(OODYEAR) shows how the training of the modern mason makes it impossible for him to reproduce the departures from formal symmetry found in mediaeval buildings. Such refinements as variations in the spacing of exterior arcading in Italian Romanesque work, or the construction of lines of interior arcading so that they were not parallel, or the deflected choirs in Northern Gothic and Romanesque churches, or façades with forward inclination as at Peterborough were introduced to avoid the appearance of monotonous formalism. The individual mason was so trained that he could understand and follow instructions as to purposed deviations from normal regularity. Modern training leads to symmetry, and architectural refinements such as these could be introduced into modern construction only with great difficulty and expense.

The Mosques of the Arabs in Constantinople.—In *B. S. A.* XXII, sessions 1916–1917; 1917–1918, pp. 157–174 (pl.), F. W. HASLUCK discusses the legends and the other evidence relating to the Mosque of the Arabs (*Arab Djami*) and the Mosque of the Leaded Store (*Kurshunlu Maghzen Djamisi*) in Constantinople. The former appears to have been transformed from a church (of St. Paul) toward the end of the sixteenth century for the use of Moors who came from Spain. This explains the name of the mosque. The *Kurshunlu Maghzen Djamisi* or *Yer Alti Djami* (Underground Mosque) was perhaps first “discovered” at about the same time as the Arab Djami. It may have been a secular edifice, not a church. It contains tombs of Arab saints, most important of which is that of Abu Sufian. The current conception of an “Arab” saint includes the idea of the Arab proper, a companion of the Prophet and champion of the Faith, and that of the negro. In some cases such “saints” were originally djinns, or spectral guardians of treasure, or the like. Occasionally they became Christian, as well as Moslem, saints. The prophecy of the Red Apple, foretelling the victory and defeat of the Turk, was applied to Constantinople and to Rome, perhaps also to Granada, possibly to Budapest and even to Rhodes. The Red Apple, variously explained, symbolizes world dominion.

ITALY

The Date of Giotto's Roman Activity.—The date 1298–1300 which is continually given as the period of Giotto's sojourn in Rome is shown by L. VENTURI (*L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 229–235) to rest on fancy and on equivocations of seventeenth century writers. Religious, rather than historical, reasons determine the spurious dating; *i. e.*, because of the interest in the seventeenth century in the jubilee of Boniface VIII, Giotto's activity in Rome was con-

nected with that date, 1300. As a matter of fact it must have fallen after 1305, and perhaps even as late as 1320 (the latter date is given by Jacopo Grimaldi), for Riccobaldo da Ferrara writing in 1305 tells of Giotto's work in Padua, Rimini, and Assisi, but makes no record of any elsewhere.

Sculptures in the Duomo of Siena.—In his series of studies on Sienese art G. DE NICOLA publishes (*Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 144-153; 10 figs.) five sculptures in the Duomo of Siena. A Crucifixion in wood, which belongs to the beginning of the fourteenth century is the work of a Sienese artist but derived from Giovanni Pisano's type of Crucifixion. A Pieta in wood, showing German influence is assigned by a document, that apparently refers to it, to the early fifteenth century as the work of Alberto di Betto of Assisi. The monument of Cardinal Petroni, dating in the early fourteenth century, is one of a series of such monuments made by Tino da Camaino, an artist who was more architect than sculptor. The pulpit bas-relief decorated with figures of the four Evangelists is the work of two sculptors, Turino di Sano and Giovanni Turini. Finally, two putti, the work of Antonio Federighi, are companion pieces, originally used no doubt in a crowning motive of a funerary monument.

Protection of Monuments.—The last number of *Boll. Arte* for 1918 (XII, pp. 185-272; 93 figs.) is devoted to accounts by G. FOGOLARI, PELLEGRINI, E. MODIGLIANI, A. COLASANTI, M. ONGARO, and G. GEROLA of the action taken during the war to protect the works of art in regions in Italy exposed to danger. The accounts deal principally with the monuments of Venice, Verona, Padua and Mantua. Many treasures were removed to Florence and deposited in San Salvi, in the crypts of San Lorenzo, and in the Bargello. Others were stored in the Castle Sant' Angelo at Rome and still others were taken to Pisa. The most romantic stories are told of the removal of Titian's Assumption and of the equestrian statues of Colleoni and of Gattamelata.

The Cathedral of Bari.—From a study of the monument itself, M. SALMI discusses (*Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 122-140; 16 figs.) the vicissitudes of the Romanesque Cathedral of Bari in Puglia. In its present aspect the Cathedral is the result of so much rebuilding that its mediaeval features are no longer evident in many parts. As built by Bisanzio in the eleventh century, the edifice was in the form of a basilica with three naves, three apses, transept, and, perhaps, crypt. In the thirteenth century many decorative features were added, the transept enlarged, a cupola added, the apse enclosed in a rectilinear tribune with two campaniles. Changes since this period have been numerous. Older pieces that are built into newer parts date back even as far as the late fifth or early sixth century. This is true also of various furnishings of the Cathedral that have been preserved.

SPAIN

Spanish Monasteries.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVI, 1918, pp. 241-254 (3 pls.) L. M. CABELLO LAPIEDRA gives a short history and description of the Carthusian monastery of Jerez. The cornerstone was laid December 17, 1478 in the presence of the founder, Alvaro Obertos de Valetto, though most of the conglomerate structure is of later date. In spite of the considerable historical importance of the monument, it has been greatly neglected since the government declared it national property in 1856. J. D. CONTRERAS

(*ibid.* pp. 255-264; 3 pls.) writes on the monastery of San Antonio el Real in Segovia. This is of the fifteenth century and shows strong Saracenic influence in its architectural decoration. It has important painted and sculptured retables of the fifteenth century.

FRANCE

Jubés.—In *Gaz. B.-A.* XIV, 1918, pp. 355-380 (9 figs.) G. SERVIÈRES discusses the origin, the architecture, the decoration and the demolition of jubés. While there are some analogies between ambons and jubés, these are less significant than most writers have believed. The ambon served the clergy as a place in which to approach the people; the jubé raised a barrier between the clergy and the people. The jubé in the Occident is nearly equivalent to the iconostasis in the Orient. There are two classes of jubés, those of stone and those of wood. The architectural members consist of a portico, a balustrade gallery with or without fixed desks, and one or two stairways. In France no jubés of the thirteenth century remain. They were built for the most part only in the large cathedrals and in the principal abbeys and these have been the objects of the most destructive vandalism. Part of the jubé of Rochester belongs to 1227, but both in England and in France there are very few extant examples before the fifteenth century. Most of the German jubés date from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; the low countries have important polychrome examples dating from the sixteenth and seventeenth. The long, unremitting process of the destruction of jubés is recounted in the second part of the article (*ibid.* XV, 1919, pp. 77-100; 6 figs.). At first the destruction had for its purpose the replacing of the old jubés by new ones of a quality more suited to contemporary taste. But beginning with the seventeenth century the clergy waged a campaign against the monuments on the ground that they marred the appearance of the church, violated church rules, etc. This destruction was continued for one reason and another through the Revolution and even into the nineteenth century.

A French Statue of about 1300.—In *Art in America*, VII, 1919, pp. 91-100 (5 figs.) S. RUBINSTEIN writes on a mediaeval statue of the Virgin and Child recently acquired by the Metropolitan Museum. The similarity of the statue to the "Vierge Dorée" of Amiens and the assumption that because it is said to have come from a church in Amiens it was created under the influence of Amiens ateliers are contested. The latter assumption is shown to be illegitimate by the fact that at this time not all the statues made for a definite place showed the style of the productions of the local ateliers. With the "Vierge Dorée" of Amiens the Metropolitan statue shows much less similarity than with some of the figures of the portal of the Last Judgment in Bourges. Though it is later in date, it is artistically derived from the statuary of Bourges.

BELGIUM

Enamels of the School of Godefroid de Claire.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIV, 1919, pp. 85-92 (4 pls.) H. P. MITCHELL writes on the enamel work of the Walloon goldsmith, Godefroid de Claire. Incidentally, the book of MM. v. Falke and Franberger, who have based their attributions too much on technical and not enough on aesthetic study, is criticized. Although only two examples of enamel, and those badly mutilated, are definitely recorded as the

work of Godefroid, a large group of works can reasonably be assigned to him and his school. The Altar Cross in the Victoria and Albert Museum is in its present condition a reconstruction of the fifteenth century. Only parts of it can be assigned to the school of Godefroid of the twelfth century. The Stavelot triptych in the collection of J. P. Morgan is attributed to Godefroid himself and is probably one of the things made by him for Abbot Wilbald.

ENGLAND

English Mediaeval Tiles.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 221–225 (18 figs.) P. H. DITCHFIELD writes on an important branch of Gothic architecture, the art of the tile-maker. From important collections that have been formed the mode of fashioning the tiles and the patterns and devices impressed upon them are studied.

RENAISSANCE ART

ITALY

Three Panels from the School of Pesellino.—From the collection of the late Mr. Robert Ross three panels, probably from a cassone, which represent scenes from the life of Joseph, are published by T. BORENIUS in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 216–221 (2 pls.). Though they are not by an artist of great merit, they are attractive in color and literary design and are important as examples of the scarce works of the school of Pesellino.

Unknown Sienese Works.—Two panels in the picture gallery of Bandini at Fiesole and there attributed to the Florentine school are among those discussed by F. M. PERKINS in *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 105–115 (12 figs.) and attributed to the Sienese school. These two panels, representing saints, show clearly the characteristics of Ambrogio Lorenzetti and were probably painted during his sojourn in Florence. They may have formed a part of an altar piece recorded by Ghiberti, Vasari, and others. A diptych representing the Annunciation in the same gallery, labelled "Sienese School," is more definitely attributed, on stylistic grounds, to Niccolò di Buonaccorso. A panel representing the Madonna and Child in the old refectory of S. Croce, Florence, is assigned to the master of the Codex of S. Giorgio. It is the largest painting that has been attributed to him, and he carries his miniature technique into it. A fine painting of the Madonna in the Hendecourt collection, Paris, is clearly the work of Sassetta. Of the four small panels in the Vatican attributed by the author some years ago (*Rass. d'Arte*, 1906) to Sassetta, only one, representing the Vision of St. Thomas Aquinas, is really by him, as further study reveals. The others must be placed among works by two of his followers. A Madonna in a poor state of preservation, in the Spiridon collection, Paris, is the work of Matteo di Giovanni; and a well-preserved Madonna in a private collection is to be assigned to the late period of Benvenuto di Giovanni. Finally, a Madonna with Saints in the Lucas collection, Fiesole, is a fine example of the work of Giacomo Pacchiarotti.

Nicolò da Voltri.—On the basis of two signed paintings, the Madonna in S. Donato, Genoa, and a polyptych, the main subject of which is the Annunciation, in the Vatican, L. VENTURI makes a study in *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 269–276 (6 figs.) of the art of Nicolò da Voltri. His earliest work shows some effect of his contact with Barnaba da Modena, but later he leaves off all the

chiaroscuro of that master and takes clear relief and roundness of form as his goal. This change was probably inspired by contact with Taddeo di Bartolo. Comparison with the two signed paintings justifies the ascription to Nicolò of the Madonna in the picture gallery of Savona that was formerly attributed to Barnaba da Modena.

Raphael and Michelangelo in 1513.—In *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 279–284 A. VENTURI contrasts Raphael and Michelangelo in their attitude toward the times in which they lived. The work of the two in the year 1513, *i.e.*, Raphael's decoration of the Stanza of Heliodorus and Michelangelo's paintings on the Sistine ceiling, make this contrast clear and sharp. While Raphael narrated with a serenity extraneous to the life of the perturbed society of the times the annals of divine and human science, Michelangelo portrayed a page of the tragic history of humanity.

The Portraits of Leonardo.—Starting from the Turin self-portrait of Leonardo, L. BELTRAMI in *Emporium*, XLIX, 1919, pp. 3–17 (18 figs.; 2 pls.) discusses various possible portraits of the master. These include, among others, drawings and paintings which are labelled as portraits of the artist, a fresco figure in Luini's Sposalizio at Saronno and one of the figures in Raphael's cartoon of the School of Athens in the Ambrosiana. But the most interesting are the drawings by Leonardo himself for his studies in proportion. Some of these are strikingly similar to the known proportions and features of the artist's head, and that he should have used himself as a model in his studies of proportion might be expected from certain of his written observations on the subject.

The Manuscripts of Leonardo.—In *Emporium*, XLIX, 1919, pp. 59–74 (12 figs.) POLIFILO writes on the vicissitudes of the manuscripts of Leonardo and of the prospective national edition of them.

Andrea Mantegna.—In *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 182–184 (fig.) G. FRIZZONI calls attention to some historical documents in regard to the fame of Andrea Mantegna. The author of one of these is Agostino Taia, who in the *Descrizione del palazzo apostolico vaticano*, Rome, 1750, writes with extravagant praise of Mantegna's paintings in the chapel of Innocent VIII. A document in the *Libri dei decreti dell' Archivio Gonzaga* dealing with the payment of Mantegna for certain paintings refers to his work in the Gonzaga palace and to the Triumph of Caesar. The highest praise is again accorded the artist. This document is dated 1492.

Mantegna and his Imitators.—The ascription to Mantegna of the Judith and Holofernes lately at the Wilton House and now in the collection of Mr. C. W. Hamilton, Great Neck, N. Y., is contested by R. SCHWABE in *Burl. Mag.* XXXIII, 1918, pp. 215–216 (2 pls.). Both the drawing and the types of the figures are considered unworthy of the high standard of Mantegna's certain productions.

Gian Giacomo Barbelli.—In *Emporium*, XLVIII, 1918, pp. 292–304 (14 figs.) E. GUSSALLI writes on an artist of Crema of the first half of the seventeenth century, Gian Giacomo Barbelli, who was highly honored in his own day but much neglected in later times. His prolific art, essentially decorative in spirit, opened into new fields, quite different from those of the sixteenth century.

Giovanni Bonconsigli.—In *Boll. Arte*, XII, 1918, pp. 70–80 (11 figs.) A. FORATTI writes on some unpublished paintings by Giovanni Bonconsigli. After

a brief sojourn in Padua, the artist came to Venice, where he was under the influence of Giovanni Bellini and Montagna. His subjection to Montagna is especially clear in his work, though he softens the harsh severity of that master's forms with color technique derived from Bellini. But Montagna was also influenced by the younger artist, as is demonstrated by the comparison of Bonconsigli's St. Catherine in the Duomo of Montagnana and Montagna's Mary Magdalene in S. Corona at Vicenza. The former shows the spontaneity of a young master, while the latter manifests the mannerism of a quattrocentist.

The Fogg and Jarves Collections.—In *Les Arts*, No. 172, 1918, pp. 17-24 (9 figs.) A. ALEXANDRE writes on two American collections, one in the Fogg Museum, Cambridge, the other the Jarves collection at New Haven. No critical discussion of attributions is entered into; the intention of the article is to laud the spirit of true aesthetic appreciation in which these collections have been formed and are now managed.

Italian Pictures in the New York Historical Society.—A few examples of early Italian painting in the New York Historical Society, which are important in helping to clarify the characteristics of certain artistic personalities, are discussed by R. OFFNER in *Art in America*, VII, 1919, pp. 148-161 (4 figs.). The right wing of a diptych, representing The Last Judgment, is clearly by Bernardo Daddi and should be dated about 1340. It is strongly influenced by Giotto and is one of the most beautifully conceived paintings of the period



FIGURE 4.—THE DEATH OF ACTAEON: ITALIAN MAJOLICA.

following that master's death. A small painting of the Virgin, Saints, and Angels is of very mixed derivation. But analysis proves that its painter was a provincial Florentine, probably in Orcagna's shop, who had at an earlier time worked in Daddi's studio. It is probably to be dated about 1355-60. An example of the Sienese school, a small Crucifixion, must have been painted by a follower of Bartolo de Fredi who shows traces of Fei's influence. Its date would be around 1400.

Nicolò di Giacomo.—In *L'Arte*, XXI, 1918, pp. 227-228 L. FRATI writes on the inheritance of the Bolognese miniature painter, Nicolò di Giacomo. His principal wealth was represented by a house in the parish of S. Procolo. Some of the more important pieces of furniture in this are listed.

Majolica Pavement in Neapolitan Churches.—In *Faenza*, V, 1917, pp. 67-70 (2 figs.) O. REBUFFAT gives the results of his chemical analysis of fifteenth and sixteenth century majolica pavements in churches of Naples. This analysis puts an end to disputes as to the provenance of the pavements, formerly based upon the technical decorative character of the work. Faentine origin is excluded and it is shown that for these pavements clay of uniform type and of almost the same composition was used. The majolica was probably all made of clay from the same pit, and that Neapolitan.

Italian Majolica.—In *Burl. Mag.* XXXIV, 1919, pp. 125-131 (2 pls.) B. RACKHAM publishes two important pieces of Italian majolica in provincial museums. One of these, at the Holburne Museum, Bath, is a large dish painted with the subject of the Death of Actaeon, (Fig. 4). Though certain details show that the painter must have been acquainted with a well-known Florentine print of the middle of the fifteenth century, it is the first-hand quality of the dish that makes it important and shows that before 1500 majolica painters were wont to draw something from their own imagination. The second example is a large devotional roundel in the Manchester Art Gallery, dated 1550. It bears the distinct characteristics of Casa Pirotta majolica.

Pieces of Majolica Pavement in the Faenza Museum.—In *Faenza*, VI, 1918, pp. 50-56 (8 figs.) G. BALLARDINI discusses some Spanish pavement majolica in the International Museum of Ceramics at Faenza. He publishes and describes several examples from the Vatican most of which were made, according to documentary evidence, at Valencia about 1494 for the Borgia apartments in the Vatican.

Majolica of Castel Durante.—In *Faenza*, V, 1917, pp. 71-82 E. LIBURDI reviews *The Three Books of the Potter's Art* by Piccolpasso of Durante. Written in 1548, this is the earliest complete treatise on pottery and is of great literary and technical value. The art is followed through all its stages: the instruments necessary for the work are described, the selection and provenance of the best clay and the manner of treating it, the recipes for obtaining various colors, the kinds of designs used, and so forth. An important part of the book is the discussion of the procedure in different ateliers in Italy. Here we learn of the existence of potteries in localities where work in this art has hitherto been unknown. The text is augmented by 180 figures representing vases, plates, instruments, and so forth, excellently executed. *Ibid.* VI, 1918, pp. 57-61 the same writer adds notes on the problematic origin of the book.

The Room of the Zodiac.—In *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 165-181 (15 figs.) P. MORETTA writes on the *sala dello zodiaco* in the Palazzo d'Arco in

Mantua. Beneath a frieze the walls are divided by painted pilasters into 12 compartments, each of which deals with one of the signs of the zodiac. Some of the scenes are rather abstruse, but it seems that they follow two general schemes, or a double tradition: the classical tradition of myths referring to the signs of the zodiac and the mediaeval tradition referring to the occupation of men in the months sacred to the signs. Neither in the archives of Mantua nor in those of the Arco family is there any document that gives a clue to the author of the frescoes. But the lack of free space in the designs and the abundance of details and of classical reminiscences would place them in the first half of the sixteenth century. Further study of the work suggests the school of Lorenzo Costa, and this conjecture is sustained by the fact that Costa was working in Mantua in the early years of the cinquecento.

Bernardino Zaccagni.—In *Boll. Arte*, XII, 1918, pp. 85-168 (36 figs.) M. SALMI publishes documents and discusses the work of Bernardino Zaccagni, an architect of the Renaissance in Parma. Overshadowed by Correggio, the decorator of some of his buildings, his name had been quite forgotten through the centuries until recently it was brought to light by Ireneo Affo. Some of Zaccagni's more important works in Parma are represented by S. Benedetto (1498-1502), the church of Pedrignano (1509), some work on the hospital (1500), S. Giovanni Evangelista (1510-1524?), and the Steccata. It is Romanesque art that the artist seeks to revive in his work; but he did not, as Brunelleschi, find in that art by which he was inspired the source of new, original forms. He did not create a school. But he had sufficient force in himself to present an important development of architecture of the Renaissance in Parma.

The Fontana Brothers.—Because of the very meager records concerning the private life of Domenico Fontana, documents published by A. CAMETTI in *Boll. Arte*, XII, 1918, pp. 170-184 are of interest. These concern the division of property between Giovanni, Domenico, and Marsilio Fontana.

The Rhymes of Francesco Xanto Avelli.—In *Faenza*, VI, 1918, pp. 11-15 G. VITALETTI illustrates the poetical essays of Avelli, who came from his native town of Rovigo to Urbino to work in ceramics. While his rhymes are commonplace, far below the standard of his work in ceramic art, the work is at least worth noticing for the data it gives concerning its author, notes relating to his biography, and sidelights on his character.

The Chapel of Santa Corona.—In *Rass. d'Arte*, XVIII, 1918, pp. 157-164 (4 figs.) L. BELTRAMI writes on the Chapel of Santa Corona in the Church of Santa Maria delle Grazie in Milan and the pala made for its altar by Titian. The walls of the chapel were decorated by Gaudenzio Ferrari with scenes from the Passion. Of Titian's altar painting, which was taken from the church among the spoils of Napoleon and is now in the Louvre, there are two other versions. One of these, an oil sketch by Titian, which is in the picture gallery of Monaco, is finer than the finished work itself. The other version is a copy of the pala. It is now in Santa Maria delle Grazie and was probably made about 1652 when it seemed likely that the pala might be taken away to the Estorial.

A Quattrocento Relief.—A relief of the Madonna and Child by the Master of the Marble Madonnas in the collection of Enrico Caruso (Fig. 5) is discussed by S. RUBINSTEIN in *Art in America*, VII, 1919, pp. 104-110 (pl.). The master, as yet nameless, whose works have only recently been distinguished from those

of Rossellino and Mino da Fiesole shows, upon more sympathetic study, admirable qualities. The most striking feature of his creations is their joyous animation.

Collections of Antique Drug Vases.—In *Faenza*, VI, 1918, p. 16 (pl.) F. NICCOLAI calls attention to an interesting collection of fifteenth century vases



FIGURE 5.—RELIEF BY THE MASTER OF THE MARBLE MADONNAS.
From *Art in America*.

in the Savi pharmacy of Borgo San Lorenzo in Mugello. On the interior are traces of drugs, which betray their original use. Either adroitly concealed by the ornamentation or plainly visible are labels of the particular contents of each. Wide variety is shown in the shape and decoration of the vessels. Most are tricolored with interlaced floral, arabesque, and volute designs. From the complex character of the work it is concluded that the bases are not of Faentine but of Florentine fabrication, highly perfected. G. REGOLI (*Ibid.* p. 62; fig.) calls attention to a similar collection of vases of somewhat later date at the Muini pharmacy of Modigliana.

SPAIN

El Greco's Style.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVI, 1918, pp. 229–240 (6 figs.) L. VENTURI traces the formation of the style of El Greco. The painting of

Paradise in an Italian private collection is attributed to El Greco's Roman period and is used, along with other works, to illustrate the artist's derivation. His style is fundamentally Italian. In Venice he got the basis for his coloring, while Correggio in Parma and, particularly, Michelangelo in Rome gave the inspiration for his characteristic forms. The arrangement of compositions is

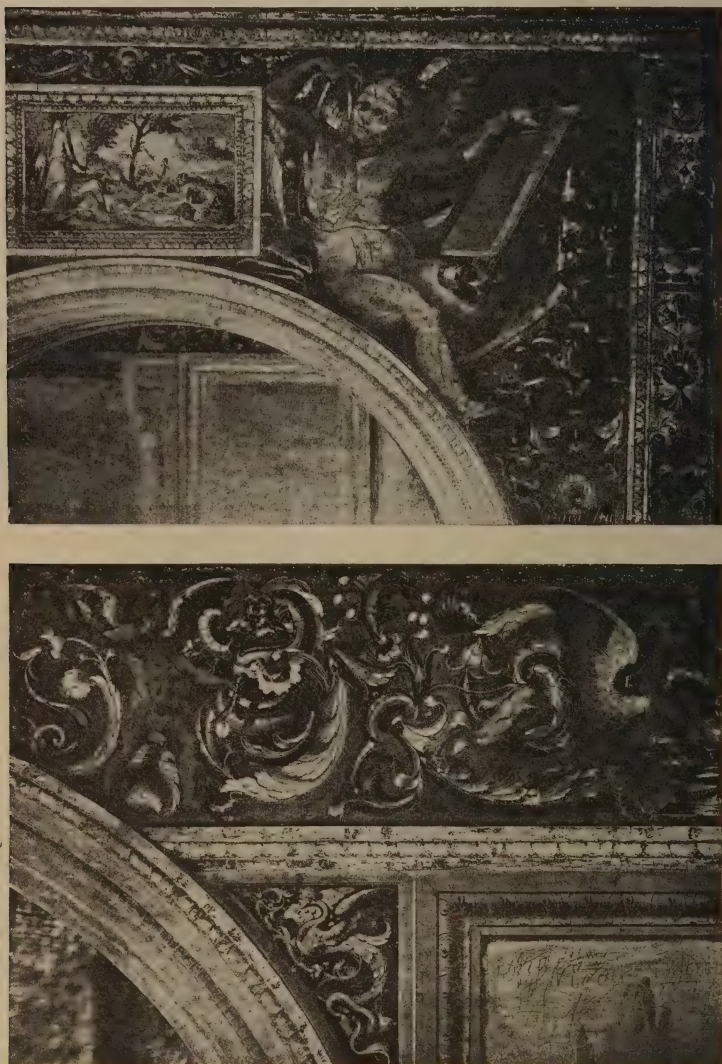


FIGURE 6.—PAINTINGS BY MAYNER AND DE AQUILIS: ALHAMBRA.

to be traced in some measure to Dürer; for the rest it follows El Greco's native Greek, or Byzantine, tendency.

The Plaza Mayor at Madrid.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVII, 1919, pp. 36–54 (6 pls.; fig.) the Conde DE POLENTINOS collects the historical material and old representations that bear on the varying aspects of the Plaza Mayor at Madrid from the Renaissance through the eighteenth century and gives an account of the great conflagration that did most to alter its appearance.

A Spanish Chasuble of the Early Renaissance.—In *Art in America*, VII, 1919, pp. 55–63 (3 figs.) C. A. W. VOGELER publishes a Spanish chasuble acquired in 1916 by the City Art Museum of St. Louis. The cutting of the garment and the Late Gothic workmanship and design of the orphreys indicate that the work belongs to the most productive period of the manufacture of cloths of gold at Toledo, *i. e.* 1480–1520. All but one of the six panels into which the orphreys are divided represent scenes from the life of Christ.

Raphaelesque Decoration in the Alhambra.—In *B. Soc. Esp.* XXVII, 1919, pp. 20–35 (2 pls.) M. GOMEZ MORENO discusses the decorative paintings by Alejandro Mayner and Julio de Aquilis in the queen's apartments of the Alhambra palace (Fig. 6). The work, done toward the middle of the sixteenth century, reveals close dependence on Raphaelesque motives of antique derivation such as were used for the Vatican loggia and the Villa Farnesina.

FRANCE

The Louvre.—In *Les Arts*, No. 170, 1918, pp. 1–19 (18 figs.) PÉLADAN writes on the popularity of primitive and Renaissance Italian painting in modern collections and of the delinquency of the Louvre in that respect. While two of the more recently established museums—that of London, founded in 1824, and that of Berlin, in 1815—have, respectively, 302 and 280 primitives, Paris has only 258. A list is appended of the important Italian masters who are not represented in the Louvre.

The Retable of Rogier in the Louvre.—In *R. Arch.*, fifth series, VIII, 1918, pp. 351–353, CH. BRUSTON discusses anew the letters (and their meaning) which occur in the painting by Roger Van der Weyden in the Louvre, the bell at Domeringen, the ring of Ulger, etc., which were discussed and interpreted *ibid.* VII, 1918, pp. 50–75 (cf. *A. J. A.* XXIII, 1919, p. 188).

BELGIUM AND HOLLAND

A Madonna by Van Dyck.—In *Art in America*, VII, 1919, pp. 103–104 (pl.) F. J. MATHER, Jr. describes a Madonna and Child (Fig. 7) recently acquired by Mr. Henry Goldman of New York. While it bears much similarity to the work of Rubens, its colors mark it clearly as a Van Dyck. It lacks, fortunately, the over-emphasis and sugariness of most of the latter's religious pictures and is a most happy rendition of the contrast between pensive Mother and ardent Child. The Madonna is an idealized portrait of Isabella Brant, Rubens' first wife; the Child is as unmistakably Nicholas Rubens. The age of the Child dates the painting in the year 1621.

Rembrandt's Monk Reading.—*Burl. Mag.* XXXIV, 1919, p. 125 (pl.) T. BORENIUS publishes Rembrandt's painting of a Monk Reading, with the special purpose of making accessible a good reproduction of the work. This painting, done in 1661, together with other closely contemporary representa-

tions of monks by Rembrandt affords an argument in support of the master's hypothetical visit to Belgium at this time.

Two Portrait Heads by Claesz Pietersz Berchem.—Although a large share of the work of the seventeenth century Dutch painter, Berchem, consists of



FIGURE 7.—MADONNA AND CHILD: VAN DYCK.
From *Art in America*.

Italian pastoral scenes, he is the author of some figure subjects of note. Among the latter two portrait heads of St. Peter, one in the collection of Dr. John E. Stillwell, New York, the other in the Art Institute, Chicago, are published by G. F. MULLER in *Art in America*, VII, 1919, pp. 69-84 (2 figs.). The one in Dr. Stillwell's collection is among the artist's earliest works. The second represents a later period, when Berchem came under the influence of Rembrandt.

AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY

GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS

Kutenai Tales.—Under the title *Kutenai Tales* (Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 59. Washington, 1918, Government Printing Office. 387 pp. 8vo.) FRANZ BOAS publishes seventy-seven tales of the Kutenai Indians, forty-four of which were collected by the late Professor A. F. Chamberlain. In each case the Kutenai text and an English translation are printed side by side. Kutenai-English and English-Kutenai vocabularies complete the volume.

Seneca Fiction.—J. N. B. HEWITT has published, with an introduction, an important collection of 138 stories of the Seneca Indians. Of these 107 were collected by the late Jeremiah Curtin in 1883, 1886, and 1887 and the rest by the editor in 1896. Two legends are given in the Seneca dialect with interlinear translations; the rest are in English. Brief notes accompany the tales. [*Seneca Fiction, Legends, and Myths*. Edited by J. N. B. HEWITT. Thirty-second Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology. Washington, 1918, Government Printing Office. 819 pp.]

The Use of Wood among the Indians of Ontario.—In the *Thirtieth Annual Report* of the Ontario Provincial Museum 1918, pp. 25–48 (22 figs.) R. B. ORR gives a general account of the uses to which wood was put by the Indians of Ontario.

The Central Arawaks.—During the years 1913–1916 an expedition from the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania under the direction of Dr. William Curtis Farabee explored portions of South America and made special studies of certain little-known Indian tribes. Dr. FARABEE now publishes as his first volume the results of his investigations among the Arawak tribes of Northern Brazil and Southern British Guiana. He describes in detail the manners and customs of the Wapisianas, the largest tribe, gives measurements of their men and women as well as of the Ataroi, the Tarumas, and the Mapidians, reports upon their grammar and publishes Wapisiana, Ataroi, Taruma, and Mapidian vocabularies. [*The Central Arawaks*. By WILLIAM CURTIS FARABEE. Philadelphia, 1918, University Museum. 288 pp.; 36 pls.; 13 figs.; map. 4 to.]

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